

IN THE TIME OF PATANJALI

B. N. PURI



BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY



INDIA IN THE TIME OF PATANJALI

By
B. N. PURI



BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
CHOWPATTY : BOMBAY - 7



INDIA IN THE TIME OF PATANJALI

BY
B. N. PURI



1968
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
CHOWPATTY : BOMBAY - 7

All Rights Reserved

First Edition, 1957
Second Edition, 1968

Price Rs. 20

PRINTED IN INDIA

By M. S. Latkar at Shri Saraswati Mudranalaya, 473 Sadashiv,
Tilak Road, Poona-2, and Published by S. Ramakrishnan,
Executive Secretary, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7.

PREFACE

INDIA IN THE TIME OF PATAÑJALI in its second edition after a lapse of few years embodies certain new features. The first three chapters of the book have been rewritten completely. The Introductory chapter has not undergone any material change except in language and documentation. The background of the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali's time, the identity of two or more Patañjalis, Patañjali's parentage and birth-place have been considered in detail. The chapter on Political History is made more exhaustive with fuller documentation. The ancestry of the Śuṅgas, their dynastic history, events connected with Pushyamitra's reign — the Vidarbha affairs, clash with the Yavanas and horse sacrifices, the supposed invasion of Khāravela — the extent of Pushyamitra's empire, his successors, Kāṇvas, the dynasties of the Gangetic region — Pañchāla, Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, kingdom of the Panjab, independent tribes — Ārjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Kuṇindas — and lastly the reference to the Andhras have been considered in greater detail and proper perspective. Notice is taken of a few works and papers which have appeared after the publication of the first edition. The views expressed on many points of political controversy are a little more definitive. Attempt has been made to lay the mosaic of the political history of this period in proper setting. The chapter on Geographical information is not merely an enumeration of geographical names noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. It is much more than that. Fuller references are given while settling the identification of the place names. The rest of the chapters are only groomed with occasional touches here and there in diction and language. The bibliography is made up to date.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
Patañjali's Time	6
Identity of Two or More Patañjalis	15
Patañjali's Parentage and his Native Place	18

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL HISTORY	21
Ancestry of the Śuṅgas	22
Dynastic history	25
Pushyamitra	
The Vidarbha Affair	34
Clash with the Yavanas and the Second Sacrifice	35
The Supposed Invasion of King Khāravela	37
Pushyamitra's Empire	41
Pushyamitra's Successors	41
Kāṇvas	46
Dynasties of the Gangetic Plain	47
Kośāla	48
Pañchāla	48
Kauśāmbī	50
Mathurā	52
Panjab	54
Some of the tribes	56
Ārjunāyanas	57
Audumbaras	57
Kuṇindas	57
The Andhras	58

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	62
Conception of the Country	63

Physical Geography	65
Rivers	66
Political Geography	67
Kambuja, Kaśmīra	68
Gandhāra, Kekaya, Sālva	69
Udumbara & Bodha, Dārvyā, Vasāta	70
Sindhu-Sauvīra, Vāhika	71
Madra, Uśīnara, Śibi	72
Ambashṭa, Trigarta	73
Pāraskara, Brāhmaṇaka, Jihnavā	74
Janapadas of the Āryāvarta	74
Kośala and Kāśī	75
Videha and Vriji	76
Aṅga and Vaṅga	76
Puṇḍra and Suhma	76
Kalinga	77
Prāgdeśa	77
Avanti-Kuntī	77
Surāshṭra	77
Vidarbhā	78
Southern Janapadas	78
Towns and Villages	79

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE	82
Division of Society	82
Family Circle	84
Food — Vegetarian; Non-Vegetarian;	86
Fruits and Drinks	90
Dinner Etiquette	91
Household Effects	92
Housing Arrangements	93
Dress and Ornaments	95
Ornaments	96
Hair Arrangement	98

CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
Face Decoration	100
Marriage and Position of Women	100
Pastime and Recreations	102
Social Evils	105
Miscellaneous Items of Social Interest	106

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC LIFE	108
Professions	108
Artisan class	108
Workers in Metal	109
Masons and Architects	110
Domestic Servants	110
Cooks and Confectioners	110
Wild Professions	111
Low Professions	111
Agriculture and Husbandry	112
Agricultural Holdings	112
Preparations and Methods of Sowing	113
Ripening and Reaping	114
Storing	115
Other Crops	116
Husbandry	116
Merchandise	117
Trade Stipulations	118
Articles of Trade	119
Exchange and Barter	121
Coinage — Nishka, Śatamāna, Suvarṇa, Śāṇa, Kārshāpaṇa	122
Weights and Measurements	127
Labour	129
Communications	130
Banking	131

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL LIFE	133
Objects of Study	133
Subjects of Study	135
Place and Time of Study	138
Methods of Study	139
Relations between the Preceptor and the Pupil	142
Different Schools — Gotras and Charaṇas	145
Fees and Period of study	150
Writing	151
Female Education	151
Assemblies	153

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS CONDITION	155
Revival of Vedic Sacrifices	156
Types of Vedic Sacrifices	157
Yūpas	159
Domestic Sacrifices	160
Soma Drinking	162
Minor Sacrifices	163
Priests, Accessories and Duration of Sacrifices	164
Vedic Gods	168
Post-Vedic Deities	169
Images	170
Bhaktism — Bhāgavata Cult	171
Śaivism	176
Ascetic Orders	177
Popular Religious Beliefs	180
Buddhism	182
Jainism	183
Lokāyatas or Materialists	184

CONTENTS

ix

	PAGE
CHAPTER VIII	
LITERATURE	186
Vedic Literature and the Mahābhāshya	186
Patañjali and Smṛiti Literature	190
The Mahābhāshya and the Epics and the Puranas	194
The Mahābhāshya and the Epics and the Puranas	197
Patañjali and the Kāvya Literature	202
Patañjali and Popular Literature	205
Patañjali and Drama	207
Patañjali and Philosophical Data	212
Medicinal and Surgical Data in the Mahābhāshya	212
Administrative Information	213
Miscellaneous Data	214
Patañjali's Style	
CHAPTER IX	
ART AND ARCHITECTURE	217
Bhārhut Stūpa, Railing and Torāṇas	218
Sāñchī	223
Bodh-Gayā	229
Besnagar Column	231
Mathurā	232
Terracottas	236
Architecture	241
Town Architectural Plan	242
BIBLIOGRAPHY	247
INDEX	265

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Facing Page</i>
1. Map of India in the time of Patañjali ..	62
2. Bhārhut — Jetavana Scene ..	218
3. Bhārhut — Cūlakokā Devatā ..	220
4. Bhārhut — (top) Heavenly dancing scene (bottom) Ajataśatru's visit to the Buddha ..	220
5. Mathurā — The Jātaka of the Worst Evil Scene ..	234
6. Mathurā — The Dancing Yakshī ..	234
7. Statue of Balarāma ..	236
8. Śrī Mā — A Śuṅga Terracotta ..	240



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* symbolises the perfection of the discipline in grammar introduced by Pāṇini¹ a few centuries earlier. It envisaged a thorough investigation into the roots of language and the formation of words, and aimed at precision in expression with the employment of terms whose parts are in close harmony with each other. Such a procedure culminated in the profound penetration and perfection of all material relating to the Sanskrit language. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini which continued to be the basis of grammatical research and standard of usage, was commented upon by the unknown authors of *Paribhāṣās* or explanations of single

1. Pāṇini's recognition as a great grammarian is evident from the epithets *-āchārya*, *bhagavān* and *sukṛit*, accorded to him by Kātyāyana (*bhagavataḥ Pāṇiner siddham*-under VIII.4.68; *āchārya=āchārāt samjñā siddhiḥ* under I.1.1.; and by Patañjali *pramāṇabhūta āchāryaḥ* under I.1.1, *bhagavataḥ Pāṇiner=āchāryasya* under VII.1.1.). According to Goldstucker, Pāṇini was not the inventor of grammatical system preserved in his work though he improved the system of his predecessors, made his own addition to it and availed himself of the technical aid of the old grammarians (*Pāṇini and his place in Literature—henceforth Goldstucker-Pāṇini* p. 88). It has been suggested that Pāṇini is more a *pravakṛt* than the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Parvate: *The structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī* p. 123 -henceforth *Parvate-Aṣṭādhyāyī*) but the use of the words in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*: *pranayatisma*, *prayunkte*, *karoti*, *kriyante*, *kartā*, *pathtam*, *sāsti*, *āha*, etc. are suggestive of his status as the author (P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri—*Lectures on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya—henceforth Sastri—Lectures*, Vol. I p. xiii). The date of Pāṇini is uncertain according to Keith (*A history of Sanskrit Literature—henceforth Keith HSL*-p. 425; See also Keith HOS. XVIII. pp. clxviii ff; *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* pp. 21ff; Luders. SBA. 1919 p. 744; Liebhich—Pāṇini (1891). Kielhorn GN. 1885, pp. 185ff; Wecker Bezz Beitr. XXX, 1ff, 117ff) Prof. Belvalkar claims c700-600 B.C. for him (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* p. 15, R. G. Bhandarkar. JBBRAS. XVI. pp. 346f). According to Dr. V. S. Agrawal, the various dates assigned by scholars to Pāṇini range from the seventh to the fourth century B.C. The majority of scholars are inclined towards the fifth and the fourth century B.C. The view taken in this work is that a date nearer the fifth century B.C. appears more probable on the basis of the available data (*India as known to Pāṇini—henceforth—Pāṇini*—p. 477).

rules, followed by the *Vārttikas* (from *Vritti*-explanations) of Kātyāyana,² and finally by the *Mahābhāshya* or great commentary of Patañjali. The last sage associated with the other two and forming the *munitrayam* or 'the trinity of sages', is accorded a divine status in traditional accounts.³ His importance and that of his *magnum opus* are enhanced when one takes into account the conditions in which, and the people for whom this work was written. At a time when the *sūtras*

2. According to Keith, Kātyāyana probably lived in the third century B.C. though no strict proof is possible, and this date really depends on the fact that he apparently did not long precede Patañjali. The impression left by Kātyāyana's *vārttikas* is certainly that sometimes, not by any means always, he is attacking or correcting Pāṇini on the score of differences in usage which had arisen between the time of the two, while with Patañjali it seems as if he and Kātyāyana were parted by no great interval of time (HSL. p. 426). According to Goldstücker, Kātyāyana did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini, but to find fault with them, and he does leave the impression of an admirer or friend of Pāṇini (op. cit. p. 91). Kielhorn worked out the relation between the two on the basis of the *vārttikas* of Pāṇini's *sūtras*, and the comments of Patañjali. From a study of all the 85 *āhnika* of the *Mahābhāshya*, of about 1700 *sūtras* discussed there, about 450 have no *vārttikas*. Of the remaining 1250 *sūtras* more than 700 *sūtras* are beautifully explained by the *Vārttikāra* without picking any hole in them. About 10 *sūtras* are found unnecessary. In the majority of the remaining 250 *sūtras* only additions and corrections, or more correctly changes in form and meaning are made (quoted by Subrahmanya Śāstrī: op. cit. pp. xxviii ff). According to Kielhorn (*Kātyāyana and Patañjali* p. 48), the object of the *vārttikas* is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rule of Pāṇini's grammar, and on the one hand to justify Pāṇini by defending him against unfounded criticism, and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to, the rules laid down by him where defence and justification were considered impossible. Kātyāyana's birthplace, his merits, and the relationship of the *vārttikas* to Pāṇini's *sūtras* are considered by Subrahmanya Śāstrī. (op. cit. pp. xxviii ff). Their consideration is not necessary in this work.

3. According to the traditional account given by Rāmabhadra in his *Patañjali-charita*, he was an incarnation of Śeṣha, and that accounts for the *Mahābhāshya* being also known as *Phaṇibhāshya* (*Phaṇibhāshita bhāshyabdeḥ Śabdakaustubha uddhritāḥ*—cf. Koṇḍabhaṭṭa *Vāiyākaraṇa-bhūṣhaṇa*). Rāmabhadra describes in detail the story of his birth. Goṇikā, the daughter of a *muni*, gave *arghya* to Sun-god praying for a son. The

of Pāṇini in the light of Kātyāyana's *vārttikas* had created some confusion in the minds of the *Śiṣṭas*, the well-read Brahmins of Āryāvarta, and Sanskrit was losing its rightful place and popularity, Patañjali undertook the self-imposed task of preserving its chaste character. He conformed with the spirit of the time, and aimed at making the *Śiṣṭas* appreciate and understand the *sūtras* of Pāṇini in a scientific manner. In so doing he closely examined the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana, his predecessor in a critical spirit.

Śeṣha made an appearance in the form of a sage, and falling from the *añjali* or cavity of Goṇikā, he was known as Patañjali (*tavāñjalau mahābhāga patito 'ham hitāya te—Patañjalīcharita* II.8). According to Nāgojibhaṭṭa, he is said to have fallen from the *añjali* or cavity of a sage while performing his daily worship in the city of Gonardda. After the fall, he assumed the shape of a boy, and obtaining permission from Goṇikā, his mother he proceeded to the southern coast for the performance of *tapas* or penance (*Gonarddeśe kaśyachid risher añjaleḥ sandhyā-karaṇasamaye patitā ity aitiham*). The *Bṛihadgaṇeśa-kalpalatā* suggests the fall of Śeṣha, as ordained by Gaṇeśa into the hand of a sage, and divulging the secret of his ascetic form to him (*Chakravartty. IHQ. II. p. 262*).

4. Rāmabhadra cites a few ślokas in suggesting that the birth of Patañjali was to relieve the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana, justify Pāṇini and explain his *sūtras*:

*Kātyayanah karkaṣayā prāsādyā tapasyayā Chandrakalāvataṃsam
tasyathā sūtreṣu padārtha-bodha ṭravartakam Vārttikam ābabandha. I.52
prayuktayā vyākaraṇasya sūtraiḥ savārttikaiḥ sādhitayā padānām
adugdha gaur laukika-vaiddikātmā chirāya dugdham tridivam janānām. I.53
śrutva nijasyopari vārttikāni sūtraprabandhasya sa sūtrakārāḥ
Kātyayanena grathitāny akupya kālō hi dhire'pi karoti moham I.54
prakampitoṣṭham parivartitākṣham pādākramayā anchita bhūmibhāgam
tamaśramam Pāṇinir ajagāma Kātyayanas tishṭhati yatra yogi I.55.*

One may not agree with Rāmabhadra, especially on the aspersions cast against Kātyāyana, in the light of Kielhorn's analysis of the *vārttikas*, but it seems certain that Pāṇini's *sūtras* needed explanatory notes to make these easily understandable. To achieve this, Patañjali justified his attempt. H. P. Sastri expressed similar views. He contended that Patañjali wrote his *Bhashya* for a language which was fast vanishing, and going out of use. It is a well-known fact that when he wrote, literary vernaculars had grown up in different provinces, and he was legislating for the speech of the *Śiṣṭas*

According to the late Prof. Kielhorn,⁵ it would be wrong to suppose that all the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana have been refuted to by Patañjali with a view to supporting Pāṇini. The real task of this great commentator was to bring within the range of discussion those *sūtras* of Pāṇini which were objected to by Kātyāyana, and his reaction to those criticisms, as well as to others left out by his predecessor. Patañjali, therefore, has not been all through a critic of Kātyāyana, but in some cases he also endorses the views of the Vārttikakāra, and questions Pāṇini on certain matters which escaped the attention of his predecessor. This led Kaiyaṭa, the commentator on the *Mahābhāṣya*, to lay down the rule that the later the *muni*, the greater is his authority.⁶ It does not, however, undermine the position of his predecessor whom Patañjali has himself venerated.⁷ But such an assertion or dictum of Kaiyaṭa has some value when one traces the progress, or the change in the Sanskrit dialect between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali. This fact was also noticed by Goldstücker.⁸

only-the well-to-do Brahmins of Āryāvarta. (JBORS. II. pp. 32-33). Patañjali mentions the qualities of the *Śiṣṭas*-proficient in some śāstra (*kasyaśchid vidyāyāḥ pārāṅgataḥ*, full of contentment (*kumbhīdhāyah*), *mānakāraṇaḥ*—VI.3.109.)

5. *Kātyāyana and Patañjali*. pp. 50ff.

6. *Yathottaram munitrayasya pramāṇyam*, comment on I.1.29.

7. *Vārttikavachanapramāṇya*. II.1.1.p. 371.1 18 (Kielhorn ed.) cf. other references to Vārttikakāra I.1.34. p. 93.1.5; III.1.44. p. 53 1.1; III.2.118. p. 121.1.9; VIII.1.1. p. 238.1.9.

8. According to Goldstücker, the position of Patañjali is analogous though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pāṇini, he could more probably be called an author of *Vārttikas*. But as he had two predecessors to deal with instead of one—and two predecessors too, one of whom being an adversary of the other—his great commentary undergoes of necessity, the influence of the double task he had to perform, now of criticising Pāṇini, and then of animadverting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he had to write a comment on the *vārttikas* of the later grammarian, and thus the *Mahābhāṣya* became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion on the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana, while its *Ishṭis*, on the other hand, are original *vārttikas* on such *sūtras* of Pāṇini as called for his original remarks—*Pāṇini* p. 119.

In giving a new setting to the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, taking into fuller consideration the objections and observations of Kātyāyana, Patañjali availed himself of the opportunity for presenting a picture of India of his time." By way of illustrations he referred to events of importance. In the work itself one also notices the germs of all principles—religious, social, scientific, and moral. This was earlier pointed out by Bhartrihari, the author of *Vākyapadīya*¹⁰ who wrote a running commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, a fact also noticed by I-tsing.¹¹ He commends this work, bristling with worldly maxims, despite its chequered career in a narrow circle of friends. It is suggested

9. These illustrations and their value would be considered when we discuss the date of Patañjali. The examples in the *Mahābhāṣya* are styled *mūrdhābhishikta* or consecrations on the head (See *Indische studien* XIII.315), but as Webber pointed out (HIL p. 225n), without providing the slightest clue to enable in individual cases to decide whether the example actually belonged to this class of *mūrdha* or not. The stock-illustrations—*mūrdhābhishikta udāharaṇa*—to which Patañjali also refers (I.1.57. p. 144) were so-called because in the words of Kaiyaṣa, they were accepted in common by all commentators (*sarva-vrittis-udāhritatvāt*). Fortunately Patañjali has cited certain illustrations concerning important personalities and events of national importance which rule out the possibility of their classed as stock-illustrations.

10. II.484-88. The account shows, how this great commentary was written to preserve the continuity of vyākaraṇasmṛiti. It also suggests that when Patañjali wrote his great commentary, he tried to put in it the essence of all sciences—the germs of all principles. These are helpful in evaluating the work, and in assessing its contribution to the cultural history of India of the time of Patañjali. The ślokas may be quoted here. The last one refers to the decline in the study of this work, and its revival in the south:

- prāyena sāmksheparūchin alpavidyāparigrahān,
samprāpya vaiyākaraṇāṇām samgraha'stam upāgate, II. 484.
kriteṭha Patañjalīnā guruṇā tīrthadarśinā,
sarveshām nyāhviṇām Mahābhāṣhye nibandhane, II. 485.
alabdhaḡādhe gānbhīryād uttāna iva saushṭhavāt,
tasmin akṛitbuddhinām naiv-āvasthita, niśchayah, II. 486.
Vaiji-saubhava-Haryyashaiḥ śuśkatarkānusāribhiḥ,
ārṣhe viplāvite saṁgrahapratikañchuke, II. 487.
gah Patañjaliśiṣhyebhhyo bhraṣṭo vyākaraṇāgamah
• kāle sa dakṣiṇātyeshu granthamātre vyavasthitah, II. 488.*

11. According to this Chinese traveller, there was a commentary on the *Vṛtti-sūtra* entitled *Chūṇi*, containing 24,000 ślokas, which was a

by scholars like Maxmüller and Webber that the *Bhāṣhya* has undergone manifold vicissitudes of fortune,¹² has been more than once *vichchhina*, and arranged a fresh, so that the possibility of considerable changes, additions and interpolations cannot be denied. Strictly speaking, therefore, in each individual case it remains *a priori* uncertain whether the example is to be credited to Patañjali himself, or to those subsequent remodelling of the texts or, reversely, to Patañjali's predecessors, or even Pāṇini himself.

A critical study of the *Mahābhāṣhya* from a historical viewpoint would not fail to reveal the interest of the Bhāṣyakāra in men and matters of his time, and those preceding him. It would, however, need keen insight to trace this data amidst a mass of grammatical formulae with annotations and explanations. The author of the *Mahābhāṣhya* tried to fit in his knowledge within the framework of this structure. The interest of the reader was uppermost in his mind, and it looks improbable that the Bhāṣyakāra desired to tax their patience with unfamiliar incidents introduced by way of illustrations. It was natural on his part to use contemporary events and personalities wherever necessary. It is in this light that we have to consider that piece of evidence which sheds light on the date of the work and its learned author.

Patañjali's time: The time of Patañjali and the composition of his work can be ascertained from the data adduced by the work itself, which could be corroborated by the external

work of the learned people (Takakasu-translated as 'A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing. p. 178). Bhartrihari's date is fixed by I-tsing which mentions him forty years earlier from his arrival in India in 691 A.D. viz. c. 651 A.D. His other work *Vākyapadīya* mainly deals with questions relating to the philosophy of speech' (Ed. with Punyarāja's commentary). See also Kielhorn—IA. XII. 226 ff; Pathak, JBBRAS. XVIII. 341ff; Weber HIL.225-6 Keith, HSL 429; Dasgupta and De-History of Sanskrit Literature. 669 f.

12. IS. XIII.315; HIL.225n, 226. Kielhorn protested very strongly against this view, that 'at some time or other the text of the *Mahābhāṣhya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed etc'. He would only 'perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation, and regard the text of the *Mahābhāṣhya* as given in our Mss to be the same as existed about 2000 years ago (IA. IV.108.)

evidence. Scholars in the past threshed out this question¹³ suggesting dates ranging from the tenth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., as the probable time for the Bhāshyakāra. The earliest date suggested by N. Bhasyāchāra¹⁴ in the tenth century B.C. hardly needs any comment, as Patañjali could never have foreseen the reigns of Chandragupta and Pushyamitra, or the invasion of the Yavanas centuries ahead. Aspersions cast against western scholarship in that paper are uncalled for with the weak and puerile nature of the author's arguments.

The lowest limit placed by Peterson¹⁵ in the fourth century A.D. is based on Patañjali's reference to Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra, identified by him with Pushpamitras of the Bhitari pillar inscription who were conquered by Skandagupta. He also pointed out I-tsing's reference to a commentary on Patañjali's work entitled *Chūrṇi*.¹⁶ R. G. Bhandarkar controverted¹⁷ Peterson's theory by pointing out the improbability in his view and the supposed identification in the light of the passage referring to the Mauryas and the Yavanas in the sense in which they have to be understood. This identification also

13. Goldstücker: *Pāṇini* pp. 228 ff; Weber. IS V. pp. 147 ff; Peterson JBBRAS. XVI. pp. 181 ff; RG, Bhandarkar, ibid pp. 199 ff; Liebich: *Pāṇini* pp. 511 ff; *Indische Inschriften* p. 72; N. Bhasyachara: *The age of Patañjali* Madras 1889; H. P. Sastri JASB, 6 (1910) p. 261; Winternitz: *Geschichte der indischen litteratur* III. pp. 389 ff; Smith: EHI pp. 227-9; Keith IOC II. pp. 243 ff; HSL pp. 427 ff; Poussain: *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* pp. D. C. Sircar: IHQ XV. pp. 39 and 633 ff; Belvalkar: *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* pp. 32 ff.

14. *Op. cit.*—The Adyar Library series. No. I. p. 15.

15. *Op. Cit.* p. 189.

16. It is by this name that Indrarāja quotes the *Mahābhāshya* in his commentary on the *Udbhaṭālaṅkāra* (Das Gupta and De HSL. p. 671).

17. **Op. cit.* pp. 191 ff; See also *Collected works of R. G. Bhandarkar* I. p. 157 ff. Bhandarkar questioned several of Peterson's statements. 'To speak of Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* as a commentary on the *Kāśikā* is to speak something that is absurd. The author of the *Kāśikā* himself tells us that his work is based, among other works on the *Bhāṣya* which can be no other than the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali and there is internal evidence at every step to show that it is based on that work' (p. 158).

belies Kalhana's statement¹⁸ about Abhimanyu patronising the study of the *Mahābhāshya*. Further, the actual wording in the Bhitari inscription is *Pushyamitrānś cha jtvā* viz. accusative plural and not singular.

Weber discussed the data from the *Mahābhāshya* at great length in his paper published in *Indische Studien*,²⁰ which can still be studied with benefit and interest. His papers in the *Indian Antiquary*²¹ on the date of Patañjali, however, need

18. *Chandrāchāryādibhir labdhvā deśam tasmāt tadāgamam pravartitam Mahābhāshyam svam cha vyākaraṇam kṛitam* I. 176. According to Kalhanā, Chandrāchārya and others introduced the study of the *Mahābhāshya* in Kaśmira in the reign of Abhimanyu. Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadiya* confirms it. We are told in that work that Chandrāchārya revived the study of the *Mahābhāshya*. He does not connect this revival with Abhimanyu. The main portion of the statement is confirmed. At another place in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Kalhana refers to king Jayāpiḍa who is said to have reigned from 775-786 A.D., reintroducing the study of the *Mahābhāshya* which had ceased to be studied in his realm. (IV.488). In the Kāśmirian chronicle, Hushka and Kanishka immediately precede Abhimanyu, and if such was the case, the composition of the *Mahābhāshya* is to be assigned to a date much earlier than the one presumed by Peterson. Keith doubted the date of Abhimanyu, but accepted Bhartṛhari's reference to the long study of the text before his time (c. 650 A.D.) (HSL p. 423). R. G. Bhandarkar laid down the correct principle in regard to such a professedly historical work as the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* to accept such statements as are not improbable in themselves and do not go against stronger and more reliable evidence (Collected works. I. p. 165).

19. CII.II. p. 52.1.11. The *Purāṇas* mention a people called Pushyamitras whose rule commenced after the end of the dynasties of the Vindhyakas. According to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, as quoted by Wilson (IV. pp. 212-3), Pushyamitras and Patumitras, and others to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekala. He also pointed out that it seemed most correct to separate the thirteen sons or families of the Vindhya princes from those Bāhlikas and then from the Pushyamitras and Paṭumitras who governed Mekala, a country on the Narmadā. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* groups the two with the rulers of Mekala:

Pushyamitrā bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitras trayodaśa

Mekalāyām nṛpāḥ sapta bhaviṣyanti-ṣha saptaim (Pargiter: *Dynasties*, p. 51).

20. *Op. cit.* XIII. pp. 365 ff; 477 ff.

21. Vol. II. pp. 57 ff; 210 ff. The controversy between R. G. Bhandarkar and Weber was carried at length in the pages of the *Indian*

careful scrutiny. According to the late Professor, 'when we adduce and criticise the testimonies of the *Vākyapadīya* and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as quoted by Goldstücker, the final conclusion at which we arrive at, is that Patañjali lived about 25 after Christ. He put it between the years 5-45 A.D. according to Lassen's reckoning of Abhimanyu's accession, the besieging of Sāketa by Kanishka who was ill-disposed towards the Mādhyamikās in the interest of the Hīnayānas and the composition of the Mahābhāshya. As regards the Pushpamitra reference, he suggested that Patañjali did not live at that time, but the memory of the king was still cherished by the Brāhmaṇas.

Weber seems to have twisted the passage referring to the besieging of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavanas to suit his line of arguments. He correctly identified Sāketa, but the association of the other word with the school of Buddhism associated with Nāgārjuna is incorrect. His inability to link any anti-Buddhist Yavana ruler with the Sāketa campaign, and further his attempt to foist this enterprise on Kanishka²² create a difficult situation. The explanation suggested by him, particularly in trying to harmonise many facts at a particular time, is very confusing and his theory is unacceptable at its face value. The other dates suggested by scholars are: Boht-

Antiquary on 'the date of Patañjali and the king in whose reign he lived' Bhandarkar also refuted Peterson's arguments fixing Patañjali's date in the fourth century A.D. (For a complete text of Bhandarkar's papers on the subject, see his *Collected works* Vol. I. pp. 107 ff.

22. Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that the work in its present form does not appear to be much earlier than the Kushaṇa period. He bases his arguments on the reference to the quotations from *Mahābhārata* and the *Hārivaṃśa*, the flourishing state of the Kāvya literature, use of metres which are supposed to be of later times, and the reference to the vyūhas of Krishna, and the Śakas. At the close of his arguments he suggests that Patañjali was himself a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, but his work, the original Mahābhāshya, was revised and enlarged by early grammarians of his school (IHQ. XV pp. 633 ff). Dr. Sircar is not very sure of his contentions (ibid. p. 638).

lingk²³ (200 B.C.), Maxmüller²⁴ (200 B.C.), Goldstücker²⁵ and R. G. Bhandarkar²⁶ (144-142 B.C.), and Keith²⁷ (150 B.C.). These scholars based their arguments on the passages relating to the Yavana invasions associated with Demetrius or Menander, the performance of sacrifice at the instance of Pushyamitra, the assembly of Pushyamitra—incidentally in another text the assembly of Chandragupta is also mentioned in this context, and the reference to the gold images disposed of by the Mauryas. These passages and illustrations may now be considered here in proper context.

The most important passage²⁸ relates to a rule (vārttika) laid down by Kātyāyana (vārttika 2 on Pāṇini III.2.111) that 'the imperfect should be used to signify an action not witnessed by the speaker but capable of being witnessed by him and known to people in general. Patañjali in this connection cites two instances: The Yavanas besieged Sāketa (*aruṇad Yavanah Sāketam*), and the Yavanas besieged Mādhyamikā (*aruṇad*

23. Pāṇini's *Grammatik* p. x.

24. *History of Ancient Sanskrit literature* p. 244. The late Professor at Oxford was not very certain about the probable date of its composition. He suggested that we would not be very far from wrong in placing the composition of the original grammar and of the supplementary rules of Kātyāyana on the threshold of the third century B.C. At what time the *Mahābhāṣya* was composed, it would be difficult to say. Further he pointed out that 'as an experiment we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B.C. as the limits of that age during which the Brahmanic literature was carried on in the strange style of the Sūtras'.

25. Pāṇini p. 239. He proposed that Patañjali must have written his commentary on the Vārttika to Pāṇini III.2.111 between 140 and 120 B.C., and this is the only date in the ancient literature of India, which 'in my belief rests on more than mere hypothesis'.

26. IA.I. pp. 299 ff; XVI. pp. 199 ff; *Collected works*. I. pp. 114. In a more comprehensive paper on 'the date of Patañjali' No. I, being the first reply to Peterson, he concludes 'all the passages and statements harmonise so thoroughly with my hypothesis, and taken collectively, form such a conclusive body of evidence, that I feel myself fully justified in concluding this long reply to Professor Peterson with those words of mine with which he began his attack, "Patañjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied on (*Collected works* I. p. 185)'.
 27. HSL. p. 5. In his *Sanskrit Drama* Keith suggests 140 B.C. as the date of Patañjali with reasonable assurance.

28. Kielhorn's Edition Vol. II. p. 119.1.5.

Yavano Mādhyamikām). The siege of Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Mādhyamikā (Chittor), and not the school of Mādhyamikas as suggested by Weber, must be considered to be the events capable of being witnessed by the speaker Viz. Patañjali himself. The instances pose the question: who were the Yavanas and when did they besiege Sāketa and Mādhyamikā?

Reference to the Yavanas advancing as far as the land watered by the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā is noticed in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Gārgi-Saṁhitā*²⁹, and the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa mentions the defeat of the Yavana forces at the hands of Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra while he and his forces

29. *tataḥ Sāketam ākrāmya Pañchāla Mathurā(s) tathā
Yavanāś cha suvikrāntāḥ prāṇsyanti Kusumdhvajam.*

Ref. Mankad: *A critical edited text of the Yuga-Purāṇa*-JUPHS XX- (1947) pp. 32 ff at p. 54, 11, 94-95.

Mankad suggests that the final destruction of the great Mauryan empire was the result of the joint attack by the forces of the Pāñchalas, Māthuras and Yavanas (ibid p. 38). Five kings were put up in charge of the conquered capital who soon fought among themselves and lost the conquered territory (ibid p. 40). The Yavanas disappeared from the scenes of their victory after a short success. Jayaswal had suggested that the Greek king of Patañjali and Khāravēla's time was Demetrius and not Menander, and he quoted the following passage from the *Yuga-purāṇa* of the *Gārgisaṁhitā*:

*Dharmamāmīta tamāvriḍdhā janam bhokshyanti nirbhayaḥ
Yavanāñña payishyanati (naśyeraṇ) cha Pārthivaḥ* (JBORS. XVI.
pp. 127 ff) ..

Mankad does not agree with Jayaswal's reading and finds no reference to Demetrius. He quotes the other two texts—B and C in which the reading is *dharmamītatayā* and *dharmabhītatamā* respectively. According to Keith (HSL. p. 428), the Yavana king was probably Menander. Sten Konow agreed with Jayaswal's interpretation (AO. I. p. 27), but Tarn has suggested that at the time of the invasion, Menander was Demetrius' general, a fact, it would seem better understood by Indian writers of the period than by modern scholars (*Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 141). At another place he suggests that Menander was governor or Viceroy for Demetrius for all the conquests south-eastward of the Jhelum (ibid. p. 167) Cf. CHI. I. p. 544. We shall discuss this subject at length in the chapter on 'Political History'.

30. Act V. *yo' sau Rājasūyayajña dikṣhitena mayā rājaputrasa
tapāvivritam Vasumitrām goptāram ādiśya samvatsaropā vartaniyo nirgalas
turago visriṣṭaḥ sa Sindhor-dakṣiṇarodhasi charannāśvāmikena Yava-
nānām prārthitaḥ.*

were following the horse let loose for the Aśvamedha sacrifice of his grandfather. The performance of sacrifice by Pushyamitra—not once but twice—is also mentioned in the Ayodhyā inscription³¹ of Dhanadeva who was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra. The first Śuṅga monarch also figures in several other instances cited by Patañjali. In his remark on Pāṇini III.2.123, the Bhāṣyakāra³² quotes a Vārttika of Kātyāyana which enjoins the use of the present tense *laṭ* to denote an action or undertaking which has begun but not finished—the examples given are—'here we dwell, here we perform as priests the sacrifice instituted by Pushyamitra (*iha vasāmaḥ, iha Pushyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ*). The sense of the whole thing is, that when an action such as that of studying or performing the great sacrifice spreads over many days, the present tense should be used to denote it, if the action has begun but not ended, even though at the time of speaking the speaker may not be actually performing the action.

This cannot be an imaginary instance. The Bhāṣyakāra quotes the names of the ruler mentioned above on another instance. In his comment on the Vārttika *jitaparyāyavachanasyaiva rājādy artham* under Rule I.1.68 (7) . . . indicating that a '*tatpuruṣa samāsa* ending with the word *sabhā*—court is neuter, provided it is preceded by the word *Rājan*, or a word denoting a non-human being, but not when it is compounded with the name of a particular king, Patañjali cites as an instance—*Pushyamitrasabhā*—the assembly of Pushyamitra.³³

The name of this ruler is again quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra

31. JBORS. X. p. 203.2 (*dviraśvadedha yājinaḥ senāpateḥ Pushyamitrasya*).

32. Kielhorn Ed. II. p. 123-3-4.

33. Kielhorn omits *Chandraguptasabhā* in his edition, although it is restored in the second edition of his *Mahābhāṣya* (1892) p. 177.10-11. It occurs in four of his MSS and also in the *Kāśikā*. As two instances of the compounds of the synonyms of *Rājan* are given, it is natural to expect two of *Rājaviśeṣas* or particular kings. The question that poses before us—how could Patañjali be associated with the time of Pushyamitra in the light of the reference to the other instance? The answer is very easy. It is the consideration of the cumulative evidence and not the individual item.

in his comment on the sūtra *hetumati*³⁴ *cha*. This sūtra enjoins the use of the affix *ñic* after a root, when the operation of a causer, such as command is to be expressed. Here Patañjali cites: Pushyamitra sacrifices (*yajate*), and the sacrificial priests cause him to sacrifice. According to Pāṇini's rule the order ought to be, Pushyamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice and the priests (*yājaka*) cause him to perform it (*yājayanti*).

Whatever be the grammatical implications in all the four instances, it is certain that Patañjali drew his illustrations from important contemporary events and personalities to make a deeper impression on the minds of his readers. These are suggestive of consistency in the minds of the Bhāshyakāra. The Mauryan passage cited by scholars³⁵ in fixing his time, is only suggestive of the *terminus a quo*. It only limits the period at the upper level. Commenting on the sūtra *Jivikārthe chāṇḍīye* (V.3.99) suggesting that 'in the case of a life sustenance, serving an object which is an image (*pratīkriti*) the affix *ka* is not used except where the object is saleable, Patañjali here cites³⁶ as an example the images of Śiva, Skanada, and Viśākha where the rule of affixing *ka* does not apply. The gold coveting Mauryas had caused images of the gods to be sold (*archyaḥ*) but the rule applies only in such cases where these images provide living for the person who exhibits them to householders. Patañjali could not have referred to the Mauryas as gold coveting (*hiraṇyārthin*), if he had been a respectable Brahmin subject enjoying the patronage of the

34. III.1.26. p. 34.1, 2, 6-7.

35. V.3.99. p. 429. This passage has been interpreted by Goldstücker, Weber and Bhandarkar.

36. The original passage runs as follows: *aṇḍīya ity uchyate na śidhyati Śivaḥ Skando Viśākha iti. kim kāraṇam. Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir archyaḥ prakalpitāḥ. bhavet tāsu na syād. yās tu etāḥ pūjārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati.* V.3.39. p. 429. *Panya* suggests, according to R. G. Bhandarkar, 'something that has the possibility of being sold and something that is exposed for sale'. The idols of Śiva and etc., which are under worship now possess the possibility of being sold, because idols under worship were sold by the Mauryas. But though they possess the possibility of being sold, they are not actually exposed for sale. Pāṇini's rule applies to idols of the latter description, and not of the former (collected Essays I. p. 155). The passage, therefore, refers to the sale of idols under actual worship.

Maurya ruler. It seems to have been an event of the past, may be a recent past, of which the memory was fresh in the minds of the people. The ruling Maurya dynasty had ceased to exist by that time.

The internal evidence from the *Mahābhāshya* itself is suggestive of his contemporarily with the Śuṅga monarch Pushyamitra. As regards the composition of the work, particularly that part in which we find references to the invasions of the Yavanas and the performance of sacrifice it must have been done probably at the end of the rule of the Śuṅga Monarch. The nature and number of sacrifices, and the Yavana invasions which are noticed in other sources as well, are matters connected with political history. We propose considering these in detail in the next chapter. Jayaswal³⁷ noticed the reference to the defeat of the Muriya Rājā at the hands of king Khāravela of Kāliṅga in the famous Hathigumpha inscription. It was proposed by him that Pushyamitra performed another sacrifice to vindicate his position after his humiliation by Khāravela. This point is very controversial and does not suggest Patañjali's date. We, however, stand on a firmer ground in suggesting that Patañjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra, and the *Mahābhāshya* was probably composed at a time when the threat of security to the Śuṅga empire had passed away, and the Brahmin monarch stabilised his position and prestige by performing sacrifices.

The external evidence relating to the commentary on the *Mahābhāshya* by Bhartrihari, mentioned by I-tsing and the decay of the text at the hands of logicians named Baiji, Saubhava, and Hāryaksha who sacrificed its importance for extolling logistic principles has nothing to suggest on the date and time of Patañjali. So also we are denied any help on the point under consideration from the reference to the revival

37. JBORS.III. pp. 444ff; IV. pp. 384ff. Jayaswal suggested that Pushyamitra was defeated by King Khāravela, evidently after his first sacrifice. The Brahmin Senāpati reestablished his imperial position a second time. He further pointed out that Kāidāsa was referring to the second sacrifice when Pushyamitra had a grandson young enough to lead the forces (ibid X. p. 203).

38. op. cit.

of its study by Chandrachārya and Vasurāta, and the patronage of Abhimanyu. These are only suggestive of the chequered history of the *Mahābhāshya*, in its later phase.

The text of the *Mahābhāshya* in its present form remains the best piece of evidence on the date of Patañjali. We do find consistency in the references to men and matters quoted by way of instances or illustrations. The Yavana invasions must have happened in Patañjali's time, and he seems to have enjoyed the patronage of Pushyamitra whom he quotes several times. His time was sufficiently close to that of the later Mauryas when the memory of the founder of this family was still fresh. It is rather strange that Aśoka's name does not figure any where. For the orthodox Brahmins, this monarch might not have been a personality worth reverence. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that Patañjali was Pushyamitra's contemporary, who wrote his *Mahābhāshya* when the political situation had stabilised after the invasions of the Yavanas, and the Śuṅga monarch had performed sacrifice to vindicate his position. He may therefore, be placed in c. 150 B.C. a date suggested much earlier by R. G. Bhandarkar.³⁹

Identity of two more Patañjalis

This question engaged the attention of scholars who, however, failed to agree on the identity of the Bhāshyakāra with the Yōgasūtrakāra. Scholars like Liebich⁴⁰ and Chakravartty⁴¹ identify the two, but they are distinguished by Prof. Renou,⁴² Y. H. Woods,⁴³ and Jacobi.⁴⁴ The advocates of the identity theory base their arguments on a number of identical and complimentary factors noticed in the two works: the opening with similar aphorisms (*atha śabdānuśāsanam* and *atha Yogā-*

39. *Collected Essays*. I. p. 185; (Reprint from JBBRAS XVI (1885) pp. 199ff.

40. *Sitzun Berichte* (S.B.) Heidelberg. 1919. 4. p. 7 f; 1921, 7. p. 57 f.

41. JHQ. II. pp. 265ff.

42. *ibid* XVI. pp. 586ff.

43. *Yōga System* Translated in HOS. XVII. p. xv.

44. JAOS. XXXI. pp. 25ff.

45. I. 148.

niśāsanam), absence of criticism on the doctrine of *Sphoṭa* in the *Yoga-Sūtra*, despite its repeated notice by all schools of Philosophy, and the reference to Yoga in the *Mahābhāshya*. They also referred to Bhartrihari's allusion⁴⁵ to *Yoga-Śāstra* purging the mind of all foul effects (*yujate Yogam Brahma-chārī*) I.148) in context with his eulogising the *Mahābhāshya*. It is also suggested by way of negative arguments that since the two works deal with altogether different topics, having practically nothing in common, it is difficult to trace parallelism so far as the texts are concerned.

In reply to these arguments, Prof. Renou and others have adduced their views from the grammatical and philosophical standpoints. Grammatical terminology, like, *pratyāhāra*, *upsarga*, *prataya* and *vikarṇa* etc. appear in the *Yoga-Sūtra* with different values. The French Professor expressed surprise at the non-utilisation of the value of *cha*, *va*, *iti*, etc. in this work, and its language points to a development in the sense of analysis. The style and combination are also taken into consideration. Jacobi discussed at length the difference in the philosophical ideas underlying the two works—the latter definitely of a later period in which the original heterodox doctrines are adopted. The allusions to Buddhist doctrines in the *Yoga-Sūtra* are also suggestive of its later character, sometimes after the fifth century A.D.

Wood translating the *Yoga-bhāshya* (c 650-850 A.D.) suggests that the work does not contain any allusion, more or less direct to the theory of the unity of the parts of concrete substances, as set forth in the *Mahābhāshya*. The divergent conceptions of the two works, at least in regard to the question of substance' (*dravya*) and quality (*guṇa*), nullify the identity theory. Jacobi rightly summed up, that, 'since the author of the *Yoga-sūtra* does not conform to the grammatical rules taught by the *Mahābhāshya*, and because the latter is ignorant of the philosophical views of the former, they cannot be identified but must be two different persons'. Barnett⁴⁶ also referred to the weakness of the tradition attributing the *Sūtra* (*Yoga*) to Patañjali (*Bhāshyakāra*). This was admit-

ted by S. N. Das-Gupta,⁴⁷ though he did not accept the posterity of the *Yoga-Sūtra* to the *Mahābhāṣya*, on the basis of the internal evidence, if any.

It may, however, be made clear that two persons cannot be identified for name sake. This might complicate matters. There was another Patañjali, the author of *Nidāna-sūtra*.⁴⁸ K. C. Bhatnagar editing this work has quoted the Berlin catalogue and Max-Muller's *Shadaguruśishya* (1187 A.D.?) in his comment on Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramanī* with a view to showing that the Bhāṣyakāra, the Yoga-sūtrakāra, and the author of the *Nidāna-sūtra* were really one person (*yoga-charyah svayaṁ kartā Yoga-śāstranidānayoḥ*.) There are traditional accounts based on Śivarāma's comment on the *Vāsavadattā*,⁴⁹ as well as on *Patañjalīcharita*⁵⁰ of Rāmabhadra, which suggest that Patañjali wrote three works—one on Yoga, the second on grammar, and the third on medicine. The last one is also referred to by Chakrapāṇi⁵¹ in his commentary on Charaka. But the question is: Are we to rely on these traditions based on works written a thousand years later, or more when Patañjali had acquired a divine status. The *Yuktidīpika* refers to yet another Patañjali. Under the circumstances the safer course would be to distinguish the Bhāṣyakāra from the Sūtrakāra, and not merge their personalities into one.

It may be interesting to point out that in course of time, Patañjali's name like those of the Vedic Risis came to be associated in the formation of the gotras. An inscription from Narendra⁵² of the time of Vikramāditya and the Kadamba

47. *ibid.*

48. *Punjab Sanskrit Series*. p. 27.

49. *yogena chittasya pādena vācham malam śarīrasyā tu vaidyakena yo 'pākarot tam pravaram muninām Patañjalim pranjalir ānto' smi* (Bib Ind. ed. p. 3.)

50. *sūtrāṇi Yogaśāstra Vaidyakaśāstra cha vārttikāni tatah Krītvā Patañjalimuniḥ prachāryāmāsa jagadidam trātum* V. 25.

51. *Patañjali-Mahābhāṣhye Charakapratī saṁskritaiḥ mano-vāk kāyadoṣhanām hantra' hipataye namah.*

• Patañjali's medical work consisted of the revision (*pratisaṁskritaiḥ*) of the great compendium of Charaka (Ref. Jolly's book on medicine in Bühler's Grundriss series. p. 25).

52. *Calcutta Sanskrit series* ed. by P. C. Chakravartty p. 32. According to this work, Patanjali did not believe in the existence

ruler Jayakeśin II dated in the year 1125 A.D. refers to Patañjali the grammarian (*Śabdavidyā Patañjaliḥ saḥ*) with his qualities imbibed by the ruler. It is more in line with the internal evidence furnished by the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Yoga-sūtra*, taking into account the style, subject matter, disparity in language involving grammatical omissions in the other work, to suggest that the authors of the two works were different persons.

Patañjali's Parentage and birthplace: The evidence on both the counts has to be sought in the *Mahābhāṣya* itself. The traditional accounts, however, suggest his birth in mysterious circumstances. The two terms *Gonikāputra*⁵³ and *Gonardīya* are suggestive of his mother's name, and his association with a place named Gonarda respectively. The former term stands in analogy to *Dākṣhīputra*⁵⁴ by which Pāṇini was called, though Hemachandra in his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇī*⁵⁵ refers to him as *Śālātūriya*. *Gonikāputra* and *Gonardīya* are mentioned by Vātsyāyana⁵⁶ as authors on dramaturgy, but there is no ground for identifying them with the author of the *Mahā-*

of *ahaṅkāra* as a separate category:

uchyate: *ahaṅkāra parigrahārthaṁ evam tarhi naivāhankāro vidyate iti Patañjaliḥ mahato'smi pratyayārūpatvābhūpāgamāt.* This is quoted in relation to the views of the author of the *Yukti-dīpika* that an ancient master of the Sāṅkhya, called Paurika held that Prakṛiti is not one, but there is an infinite personality of Prakṛitis, each being attached to a different *puruṣa*.

53. EI. XII. p. 306.

54. I.4.5. p. 336.16.

55. I.i.21 p. 78.2; I.1.29. p. 91.28; I.1.92. p. 76.14; VII.2.101. p. 309.11.

56. *sarve sarvapadādeśa Dākṣhīputra Pāṇini* I.1.20. p. 75.13. It might be interesting to suggest that Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of Kanishka is called *Suvarṇākṣhīputra* in the colophon of his *Saundarananda*. *Gonikā* might have been Patañjali's mother, as suggested by Rāmaḥadra (*tatra ka'pi dadriṣe munikanyā Gonikā iti guṇasindhur anena* II.7.

57. *Śālātūriyadākṣheya Gonardiyah Patañjali* (Bohtlingk und Rieu ed. p. 157.

58. Vātsyāyana refers to two writers: *Gonikāputra* (*Kāmasūtra* I.5; V.1; VI.48 and *Gonardīya* (I.4) who wrote on the subject of treatment of a wife. According to Kielhorn, *Gonikāputra* and *Gonardīya* were not names of Patañjali (IA XV. p. 80 f). R. L. Mitra doubted the identification of *Gonikāputra* and *Gonardīya* in the *Mahābhāṣya*. He suggested

bhāshya. Nāgojibhaṭṭa identified *Goṇikāputra* with the *Bhāshyakāra*.⁵⁹

According to R. G. Bhandarkar,⁶⁰ the term *Goṇardīya* is suggestive of Patañjali being an inhabitant of Gonda in Oudh. He contended that according to the usual rules of corruption, Sanskrit *rda* (ॠ) in the *prākṛits* is corrupted into *dda* (ॡ), but sometimes it is also changed *ḍḍa* (ॢ), and as hasty pronunciation sometimes elides the *a*, and in the latter stages of the development of *Prākṛits*, one of the similar consonants is rejected, so *Goṇarda* becomes *Goṇḍā*. He also cited two passages from the *Mahābhāshya* testifying to the composition of this work at a place somewhere in between Mathurā and Pātaliputra.⁶¹

Weber presumed⁶² the ingenuity of the conclusion, no doubt surrounded by very great difficulties, particularly the correct interpretation of the word *pūrvam* in the passage *Mathuryāḥ Pātaliputram pūrvam*. According to him, it gave just the opposite direction implying that Pātaliputra was situated between the speaker and Mathurā, and the speaker therefore must have lived to the east of the former. Weber suggested that Patañjali had visited different parts of India, as he was writing the *Mahābhāshya*. His dwelling place

that there was a solitary instance of the use of the honorific *Goṇikāputra*, as he always prefers the derivative by the use of such particles as *jñeyam*—‘it should be known’, or ‘*kartavyam*’—‘it should be done’, and not by naming himself in the third person. He pointed out that there may have been a *Goṇardīya* and a *Goṇikāputra* before the time of Vātsyāyana and necessarily long before that of Patañjali and yet there was nothing to prevent him from bearing these *aliases*. The manner, however, in which these names have been cited leaves no room for the entertainment of such an opinion (JASB. LII. 1883, p. 330 ff.)

59. *Goṇikāputra bhāshyakārai ity āhuḥ*—op. cit.

60. IA. II. 1873. p. 70.

61. III. 3. 136. p. 162.6 *Yo'yam adhvā gatā ā-pātaliputrāt tasya yad āvaram Śāketād iti*—‘of the distance or path from Pātaliputra which has been traversed (such a thing was done in) that part of it which is on this side of Śāketā’ *yo 'yam adhvā Pātaliputrād gantavyas tasya yatparam Śāketād iti* (ibid 1. 11) ‘Of the distance up to Pātaliputra which is to be traversed (something will be done in) that portion which lies on that side of Śāketā.’

62. IS. XIII. p. 314; IA. II. p. 57.

could hardly be ascertained from these passages, and he suggested waiving the matter altogether.

P. C. Chakravartty, however, contended⁶³ that Patañjali belonged to southern India, and had intimate knowledge of that part, as could be inferred from the *Mahābhāṣya* itself. According to him, the Bhāṣyakāra certainly speaks of the peculiar linguistic characteristics of the Deccan, that is of using words in *taddhita* suffixes, as for example, *laukike* and *vaidike* instead of *loke* and *vede*. The references to lakes and ponds, popularly called *sarasī* in the Deccan is also contended as an evidence pointing in that direction.

It appears that Chakravartty lost sight of the fact that Patañjali, while speaking of the directions, and occasionally the distances also from one part or city to another in Madhyadeśa or Āryāvarta of which he defines even the boundaries, does not notice the exact location of Choḍa, Kerala, Kaṣera, and Pāṇḍya in the south. That rules out the possibility of his close contact or place of birth in the south. We, no doubt, notice, a rich geographical data in the *Mahābhāṣya* but that could only imply his knowledge of the country without fixing his place of birth, either in the south or even in the north. It is very likely that he was close to Pāṭaliputra where he was enjoying the patronage of the Śuṅga monarch whom he quotes several times in his work. Precise details regarding Patañjali's life—his place of birth and his personality—may be wanting, but the *Mahābhāṣya* itself is the most authoritative piece of evidence regarding his time as a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. The Bhāṣyakāra closes the list of the great grammarians, save for Bhartrihari. He exposes effectively the discipline in grammar meant for a language, not dead but very much living, although restricted only to the Śiṣṭas, the élite Brāhmins of Āryāvarta.

63. IHQ II. p. 268.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL HISTORY

The historical value of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* lies in its reference to the Yavana invasion and the performance of horse sacrifice by Pushyamitra who is mentioned in a couple of illustrations. The citations convey the impression that the Bhāṣyakāra was not unaware of the political happenings of his time. The then history of northern India is, in fact, a record of struggle between the Śuṅga and Yavana monarchs, the former attempting to integrate the loose political fabrics, and the latter to take advantage of the worsening political situation. An account of the Yavans or the Indo-Greek kings is given in the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-Saṃhitā* in connection with the invasion of Pushpapura (Pātaliputra, the capital of the Mauryas), and some other places in northern India within the Mauryan empire.¹ It is, however, uncertain whether the dynastic revolution in Magadha engineered by the Brahmin General preceded the Yavana invasion, or it was an aftermath of the event which brought the Yavanas within the gates of Pātaliputra. They sacked the Mauryan capital, but soon retreated because of the trouble at home.

As the Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryas, they also paved the way for the Kāṇvas after a rule of 110 years by its ten rulers. A few provincial states owing allegiance to the main

1. The text was edited by Kern—*The Brihat Saṃhitā of Varāha-mihira*. *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1864-65; followed by Jayaswal. JBORS. XIV. pp. 400; D. R. Mankad. JUPHS. XX. pp. 3ff. The relevant portion was considered by several scholars. Dhruva. JBORS. XVI. pp. 18ff; Tarn. *Greeks in Bactria and India*—Appendix pp. 452ff; D. C. Sircar. JRAS. 1963 Pts 1 & 2 pp. 7ff. The Yavana invasion is noticed in several works—Cunningham: *Coins of Alexander's successors in the East* pp. 262ff; Rapson: *Ancient India* pp. 131ff; *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I. pp. 540; Smith: *Early History of India* 4th ed. p. 228 and n; Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India* 6th ed. pp. 386ff; Majumdar: *The Age of Imperial unity* pp. 106ff; A. K. Narain: *The Indo-Greeks* pp. 174ff; A. N. Lahiri: IHQ XXXIII. pp. 40ff; B. N. Puri: *India in the time of Patañjali* 1st ed. pp. 27ff. The relevant passage would be considered in this chapter later on.

Śuṅga line, or as remnants of the Śuṅga family also figure in the political history of this period. The Andhras well established in the south-east² were also aspiring for ascendancy in the north, while king Khāravela of Kāliṅga seems to have planned conquests in different directions. To lay the mosaic of political history of this period, roughly from the last quarter of the second century B.C. to the beginning of the first century B.C. is a difficult task due to paucity of evidence, it is nevertheless worth attempting.

Ancestry of the Śuṅgas: The foremost question in connection with the history of the Śuṅgas relates to their ancestry, and the relation of the first Śuṅga monarch with the last Mauryan emperor. The Brahmin origin of the Mauryan General who, according to the Purāṇas¹ and the

2. Andhra is both a tribal and a territorial name. As a people the Andhras are mentioned as early as the fifth century B.C. They figure along with the Parindas as border peoples in the inscriptions of Aśoka. The earliest reference to the Andhras enabled the scholars to fix their home in the region comprising roughly the present Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, and Guntur districts (Co. HI. p. 296). An inscription on one of the Bhilsa topes (*Sāñchī* No. 1) records a donation made in the reign of king Śāta-karṇi (no. 346). The ruler can not be identified, but he must certainly have been an Āndhra. The inscription probably belongs to about the middle of the first century B.C. (CHI p. 533). According to Rapson, the conquest of E. Malwa marks the north-eastern limit to which the progress of the Āndhra power can be traced from the evidence of inscriptions and coins (*ibid.*).

3. The hero of the Hāthīgumphā inscription, king Khāravela of Kāliṅga was the thirteenth king of the Cheta family. It is now admitted that the inscription does not bear any date, but on paleographic grounds it can not be placed earlier than the beginning of the second century B.C. A consideration of the historical events narrated in the inscription might be helpful in narrowing the limits which it would be out of question to place during the hey-day of the Śuṅga glory (Co. HI. p. 112). The inroads over the plains of Northern India could only have been possible either immediately before the accession of Pushyamitra or after the collapse of the Śuṅga power. For a fuller bibliography on Khāravela see Poussain: *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas etc.* pp. 193ff).

4. *Pushyamitras tu senānir uddhṛitya sa Brihadratham* (Mat 272.27.5; Vāyu 99.337; Brah 111.74.)

5. *Prajñādurbalam cha baladarśanavyapadeśadarśitāśeṣa-sāinyah senāniranāryo Mauryam Brihadratham pīpeshā Pushyamitraḥ svāminam.* (ed. Fuhrer p. 269; Parab's ed. p. 199). *Anārya* is translated as 'low

*Harshacharita*⁵ of Bāṇa, assassinated his Master, is revealed from several sources. According to Pāṇini,⁶ the affix *an* comes after the Śuṅgas when the sense is a descendant of the family of Bhāradvāja. He also mentions the other form *Sauṅgi*. This family name occurring in the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* and in the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* was associated with the ancient priestly families, suggesting that the Śuṅgas were Brahmins. The *Divyāvadāna*⁷ associates the founder of this family with the last Mauryan emperor. According to this work, Sampadi, son of Kuṇāla and grandson of Aśoka, had a son named Vrihaspati whose grandson was Pushyadharman father of Pushyamitra. That would remove Pushyamitra from Aśoka by six generations, covering a period of at least 100-120 years. Actually the Śuṅga monarch was separated from Aśoka by less than fifty years. Further, there is no point in associating Pushyamitra with the Mauryan family when other sources call him a Brahmin, and the Śuṅgas are mentioned as teachers in Vedic literature. His gotra, however, has been a matter of disputation.

According to Raychaudhuri,¹⁰ the name of the family was Baimbika, as Agnimitra in the *Mālavikāgnimītram* calls himself a Baimbika. The Baimbikayāḥ are mentioned among

born' by Cowell and Thomas (translation p. 193). Jayaswal justified this act of the Mauryan General (JBORS.1918. p. 260ff). It is translated in the lexicons as 'not honourable' (Monier Williams *Dictionary*. p. 28 col. 3). In the context in which Bāṇa enumerates cases of persons who paid for their weaknesses, it is conceivable that the act, however, treacherous, might have been justified in national interest. In the same reference Chandragupta's murder of his own brother Rāmagupta is also mentioned.

6. *Vikarṇa-Śuṅgachchhalād Vatsa-Bhāradvājatrishu*. IV.1.117.

7. *Madragārāchchhaungāyaner Madragārāḥ Sauṅgāyanih* (I Kh. *Indische studien* IV. p. 38).

8. *Bhāradvāj=āgniveśy=arkshā Śuṅgāḥ Saiśirayāḥ kataḥ* XII, 13.5.

9. The Buddhist tradition from the *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil ed. p. 433) is noticed by several scholars (Bournouf—*Introduction du Bouddhisme* p. 430). Przyluski *La Légende d'Asoka* p. 90; Luders, *Kalpanāmaṇḍitika* p. 98.

10. IC. III. pp. 739ff.

11. *Dākshinyam nāma bimboshṭhi Baimbikānām kulavratam* 'Politics indeed O, Bimba-limbed one is the family tradition of the descendants of Bimbaka.' (Act IV. verse 14).

the Kāśyapas. He also notices the reference to the Kāśyapa senānī in the *Harivamśa*¹² who restored the horse sacrifice. Citing the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*,¹³ the late Professor suggested that as the Baimbakayas are distinctly included in the *pravaras* and *gotras* of the list, Pushyamitra was therefore, a Kāśyapa and not a Bhāradvāja. Raychaudhari further remarked,¹⁴ that the dynastic designation Śuṅga is applied to Pushyamitra and his progeny only in the Purāṇas, and not in other works like the *Divyāvadāna*, and *Mālavikāgnimitra* and even in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa which notice the dynastic revolution, involving the overthrow. It is, therefore, proposed that the Purāṇas may have included under the name Śuṅga, two distinct groups of kings viz the line of Pushyamitra which is styled Baimbika by Kālidāsa and the real Śuṅgas who succeeded this line, and are referred to by Bāṇa and in the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti.

H. A. Shah tried to connect¹⁵ Baimbika with Bindusāra, thus associating the Śuṅga ruler with the Maurya family, but the conjecture lacks possibility despite the traditional account in the *Divyāvadāna*. H. S. Śāstrī associated¹⁶ the Śuṅgas with those turbulent military spirits who had been driven away from Persia by the Greek conquest of that country. The second half of the name *mitra* and that of all the members of the family suggest his Persian origin.

Perusing the data from the different sources, the foreign origin of Pushyamitra is completely ruled out, and so also his relation with the later Mauryas. The word *Baimbikas* is translated as a 'gallant lover', and there is nothing to show that it was a proper name. The question of his identity with Bindusāra or with the Baimbikayas of the Kāśyapa gotra does not arise. In fact Patañjali also refers to *Baimbakiḥ*,¹⁷ but it is associated with the Śuṅga monarch whom Patañjali

12. *Bhaviṣyaṇḍarva*. Ch II. verse 40.

*Andhijjo bhavitā kaśchit senānīh kaśyapo dvijah
Aśvamedham Kaliyuge punah pratyāharishyati.*

13. III. p. 449.

14. IC. VI. p. 410.

15. *Proceedings Indian Oriental Congress—Madras* p. 379.

16. IHQ. VIII. p. 739.

17. IV.1.97. p. 253.

quotes several times. It is suggested¹⁸ that Dhanadeva of the Ayodhyā inscription who is described as a descendant of the Senāpati (*senapateḥ Pushyamitrasa shashṭhena*) was apparently a Śuṅga. The relation between the Śuṅga Senāpati and the Kośala dynasty founded by Mūladeva is thus traced.

There seems to be a general agreement regarding the Brahmanical ancestry of Śuṅgas, despite the doubt created by the *Divyāvadāna* tradition. A solitary scholar argued,¹⁹ though unconvincingly, that the Śuṅgas were Kshatriyas. The Śuṅga-Bhāradvāja gotra figures in a late record²⁰ and that probably rules out the association of the Śuṅgas with the Kāśyapa gotra as proposed by Raychaudhury.

Dynastic History: The Purāṇas furnish more or less a uniform list of Śuṅga rulers along with the length of their reign. Slight variations are, however, noticed. Pargiter considered the variant readings in the Purāṇas, and the following table may be presented.

1. Pushyamitra ²¹ —	the Commander-in-chief and the uprooter of Brihadratha	36 years
2. Agnimitra ²² —		8 years
3. Vasujyeshtha ²³ —		7 years
4. Vasumitra ²⁴ —	the commander of the forces defeating the Yavanas	10 years
5. Andhraka ²⁵ —		2 years
6. Pulinda ²⁶ —		3 years
7. Ghosha ²⁷ —		3 years
8. Vajramitra ²⁸ —		9 years
9. Bhāgavata ²⁹		32 years
10. Devabhumi ³⁰ —		10 years
		Total 120 years

18. *Comprehensive History of India* (Co. H.I.) p. 96n.

19. J. C. Ghosh IHQ XV. p. 629.

20. E.V. p. 68. It was suggested by Rapson that the association of the Bhāradvāja with the Vithahavya (*Vedic Index* II. p. 316 from whom the Vitihoṭras probably derived their name sheds light on the home of the Śuṅgas in the region of Vidiśā (CHI. p. 518).

21. *Pushyamitras tu Senānir uddhṛitya vai Brihadratham kārayishyati vai rājyam samāḥ shashṭin sad-aiva tu* (Vāyu 99.337—Ananadāśram ed.). The reading of the *Matsya Purāna* varies as regards the length of

These kings are to enjoy this earth for full 112 years (*satam pūrṇam daśa dve cha*), though some manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* and one of *Vishṇu* mention the total duration as only 110 years. This difference of eight to ten years, might partly be due to counting the fraction in individual reign as one full year. The Pauranic evidence may therefore be accepted and a period of 112 years be assigned to this dynasty of ten rulers. The variant readings in the *Purāṇas* are also interesting in other ways. The absence of Pushyamitra's name in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, that of Agnimitra in *Matsya*, Sujyeshṭha

his reign (*kārayishyati vai rājyam shat-trimśati samā nripāḥ*) and not sixty years as given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

22. *Agnimitrah sutas ch=āshtau bhavishyanti samānripāḥ*. This line is noticed only in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda Purāṇas*. The former has Pushyamitra instead of Agnimitra.

23. *bhavitāpi Vasujyeshṭhah sapta varshaṇi vai nripāḥ* (*Matsya*). The *Vāyu* has *tajjyeshṭha* (cf. *Bhagavata*), but it is Sujyeshṭha in the *Brahmānda* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas*.

24. *Vasumitrah suto bhāryo varshāni pārthivah*. There is no difference in name or in the length of years. The *Matsya* has *vai tataḥ* instead of *Pārthivah*.

25. *tato'ndhrakah samedve tu bhavishyati sutas cha vai* (*Vāyu*). The name of this ruler varies according to different *Purāṇas*—*Antaka* (*Matsya*) *Bhadraka* (*Bhāgavata*), *Ardra* (*Vishṇu*). The correct name seems to be *Andhraka*, given in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. All the *Purāṇas* assign him a reign of only two years.

26. *bhavishyati samās tasmāt tisra eva Pulindakāḥ* (*Vāyu*). In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the last letter *ka* in the name is elided. The correct name is also given in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*.

27. *rājā Ghosha sutras ch=āpi varshāni bhavitā trayah* (*Vāyu*). Certain manuscripts quoted by Pargiter mention his name differently—*Yomejha*, *Yomekha* or *Momegha* which might be misreadings for *Ghosha* mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* and *Vishṇu Purāṇas* (*Ghoshavas*).

28. *bhavitā Vajramitras tu samā rājā punar bhavah* (*Matsya*). The name is *Vikramitra* (*Vāyu*) or *Vajramitra* (*Bhāgavata* and *Vishṇu*). The length of reign is 9 years (*navah*) though the word mentioned is *bhavah* (*Matsya*) or *punah* (*Vāyu*).

29. *dva-trimśat tu samābhāgaḥ tato nripāḥ* (*Matsya*). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* calls the ninth Śuṅga ruler *Bhāgavata* (L. 341) which is supported by the *Bhāgavata* and the *Vishṇu Purāṇas*.

30. *bhavishyati sutas tasya Devabhūmi samā daśa* (*Matsya*). According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the name of the last ruler is *Kshema-bhūmi*. The *Bhāgavata* and *Vishṇu*, name him *Devabhūmi*.

for Vasujyeshtha in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vishṇu*, Andhraka spelt as Antaka in the *Matsya*, and Bhadraka and Ardraka in the *Bhāgavata* and *Vishṇu Purāṇas* respectively. The seventh ruler is called by different names—Yomegha, Yomekha or Momekha. His name is, however, missing in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. The last Śuṅga rulers—Vajramitra (Vikramāmitra, according to the *Bhāgavata*) and Devabhūmi (Kshēmabhūmi according to the *Vāyu*) do not present much difficulty. The identification of some of the later Śuṅga rulers with those of the Pabosā records or with the Mitra kings of the Panchāla group, as proposed by some scholars would be considered later on in this chapter.

The duration of this dynastic rule varies, though slightly, according to the different *Purāṇas*.³¹ The total length of years, counting the individual reigns comes to 120 years, but according to the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* it should be only 112 years (*śatam pūrṇam daśa dve cha*). Some manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* and one of *Vishṇu* confine the duration to only 110 years. This difference of eight years might be due to counting the fractional as one complete year for the individual reigns, with the result that the total length exceeds the actual one. The Pauranic evidence may, therefore, be accepted, and a total period of 112 years be assigned to this family of ten rulers.

Pushyamitra, The Brāhmin Senāpati, who slew his master, the last Mauryan Emperor Brihadratha, and reigned in his stead, accomplished his objective through a military *coup d'état*. According to Bāṇa, Pushyamitra availed himself of a grand review of the army, and therein the Mauryan ruler, weak of intellect (*prajñādurbalaṁ*)³² was reft of his life. This event

31. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 31.

32. According to D. C. Sircar (JRAS. 1963 p. 19), *pratiṇṇā-durbalam* might be more intelligible than *prajñā-durbala* meaning 'weak in intelligence' i.e., 'a foolish person'. Although it is difficult to determine the nature of the *pratiṇṇā* or promise, it might imply his earlier promise to defend his capital and his people against the foreigners which he failed to keep up. The result was his unpopularity with his subjects, and that was the reason why Pushyamitra so easily disposed of his master. We have another instance also quoted by Bāṇa, where the king paid for his

happened after the last dynasty had ruled for a period of 137 years (*sapta-trimśa ch-chatam pūrṇam*) according to the Purāṇas. Placing Chandragupta Maurya's accession³³ in c. 322 B.C. we naturally arrive at c. 185-4 B.C. as the date of Pushyamitra's accession to power. The succession of Pushyamitra, despite the tremendous nature of his deed, might have been the outcome of the general feeling of dissatisfaction against the last Mauryan rulers in general and Brihadratha in particular.³⁴ Magadha witnessed the Yavana onslaught, bringing in its train misery to the people, and this probably went unchecked, or was feebly resisted. The vast Mauryan empire of Chandragupta and Aśoka which included portions of eastern Afghanistan was overrun by the Yavana forces which were knocking at the doors of Pāṭaliputra. In illustrating the use of the imperfect tense for events of recent occurrence which the author had not witnessed but was capable of witnessing, Patañjali quotes the illustrations of the Yavana forces besiege-

life by agreeing to make peace with the foreign invader at any cost (Ref. the case of Rāmagupta. *The Classical Age* pp. 17-18).

33. For the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession, see Smith (322 B.C. the event coinciding with the end of Macedonian authority EHI p. 124), Thomas (321 B.C. CHI p. 471); Hultzsch (320 B.C.) which Fleet had earlier proposed (CII. Vol. I. p. xxxv), Raychaudhuri (324 B.C. IC. II pp. 560ff; PHAI 5th ed. p. 295n). According to the late Calcutta Professor, this date accords with the testimony of Greek writers. The Jain tradition suggests 313 B.C. for his accession. (Bhattasali JRAS quoting Charpentier (IA 1914 pp. 119-20). This might refer to his acquisition of Avanti (op. cit. p. 295n). It is assumed that Chandragupta carried on his war of independence during the two years 325-323 B.C. that intervened between the death of Philip, and that of Philip's master, Alexander. Thus Chandragupta's accession to sovereignty is dated in 323 B.C. (Co. HI. p. 5) Sten Konow quoting Jacobi, placed Chandragupta's accession in B.C. 312, and that of Pushyamitra in B.C. 204, while the rule of the latter king is stated to have come to an end in B.C. 174 (AO. I. p. 34).

34. Ref. No. 5. For the atrocities of the Yanavas in the Kāli Age, see Pargiter, *Dynasties* p. 56 and note. They are described as *adharmatah, kāmata, durācharah* and are condemned for killing women, children and cattle, and slaughtering one another. (*strī-bālā-go-vadham kṛtvā hatvā ch=aiva paraṣparam*). The evidence from the Purāṇas is one-sided, and very probably biased, but the consequences following any foreign invasion are always disastrous for the local population.

ing Sāketa (*aruṇad-Yavanah Sāketam*) and Mādhyamikā (*aruṇad-Yavano Mādhyanīkām.*)³⁵ In other words, the memory of the Yavana advance in Āryāvarta was fresh in the mind of the Bhāshyakāra even though he had not actually seen the forces advancing. The evidence from the *Mahā-bhāshya* is suggestive of the failure of the invasion or siege at both the places. Had the Yavanas succeeded in their attempt, the wording would have been *ajayad* and not *aruṇad*.³⁶

The evidence from the *Yuga Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī-Saṃhitā* is, however, suggestive of the Yavana forces reaching Pāṭalīputra, having occupied Sāketa, (the country of) Pañchāla, and (the city of) Mathurā, and seizing it (Kusumdhvaja).³⁷ The remnant of the Mauryan empire lay prostrate before the Yavana forces. It is rather strange that the contemporary source is silent on the siege or occupation of the Mauryan capital by the Greeks. Probably Patañjali was conscious of his limitations, and so he avoided all references to the siege of Pāṭaliputra.

It appears that the invasion referred to by Patañjali and in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī-Saṃhitā* was the earlier one, which probably took place during the last days of the Mauryan dynasty. The Yavanas came when the political condition in Northern India was insecure for want of a strong power. Disintegration and disunion only smoothened their way for a wide and successful forays in the Gangetic valley. Internal conditions at home, however, offered obvious obstacles to

35. III.2.111. p. 119.5.

36. Compare the example *ajayad Gupto Hūnam* for the use of the imperfect in Sanskrit given by Vasurāta in his *vṛtti* (gloss.) on Chandragomin's *Chandravyākaraṇa* (quoted from Dhruva, op. cit. p. 33n 22).

37. *Tataḥ Sāketam=ākramya Pañchalan-Mathuraṃ tathā; Yavanā dushṭā-vikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumdhvajam. tataḥ Pushpapure prāpte kardame prathite hile, akulā viśayah sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ; Śāstra-druma mahā-yuddhaṃ tad=bhaviṣyati pāśchimam.* 11-22-26.

According to some scholars, it was not the Yavanas who conquered Mathurā and Panchala, and together with the Yavanas attacked Sāketa and proceeded to Kusumdhvaja (identified with Pāṭaliputra (Narain, op. cit. pp. 82-3; 174; R. C. Majumdar. JNSI. XXII. 1960 p. 51). The former suggests that there was only one Greek raid upon Sāketa and Magadha, and that took place during the last years of the reign of Pushyamitra about 150 B.C.

permanent annexation. The result was the return to their homeland with the same speed. According to the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, once again, fierce and terrible civil war among their own people, eventually destructive, was the cause of their retreat (*Madhyadeśe'pi Yavana na te sthāsyanti durmadāḥ teshām=anyo'nyā saṁmardi yuddham paramadāruṇam*).³⁸ The name of the Yavana ruler who proceeded as far as Pāṭali-putra, and the duration of the Yavana stay have been matters of consideration and speculation to a certain extent. According to Tarn³⁹ the Greek sources taken together, ascribe the conquest of Northern India to three men: Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. He suggests that there were two lines of advance, one was of Menander's and the other was shared by Demetrius and Apollodotus. Demetrius was responsible for the conquest of Sind,⁴⁰ while Menander's advance to the south-east is both from the Greek and the Indian side.

38. op. cit. 11-42-33. Pushyamitra's name also figures in the same reference. Subsequent to the destruction of the Yavanas in that civil war seven powerful princes in the country with Śākala as capital would take up cudgels against Magadha. Warring with Pushyamitra all these kings and their followers would perish in battle (*Pushyamitreṇa te sarve rājāṇaḥ kṛtavigrahāḥ kṣayaṁ yāsyanti yuddhena tat=eshām āśrito janaḥ*) Dhruva op. cit. 11 51-52). It is uncertain if this event connected with the clash between the Yavana and the Śuṅga forces be dated in the latter part of Pushyamitra's reign, or these were different episodes of several Greek rulers under a suzerain. The line following refers to Pushyamitra's rule over the land of the Mādras (*tadā Mādr=ākhye deśe Pushyamitra praśāsati*) 11.83). If all these episodes were connected with one event then the military *coup d'état* in Magadha synchronised with the Yavana invasion, and Pushyamitra succeeded in driving the Yavanas from the Indo-Gangetic plain and in this enterprise, the civil war at home was a contributory factor. The Śuṅga empire seems to have extended as far as the land of the Mādras. This contention appears to be problematic, based on evidence of a dubious character.

39. op. cit. p. 141.

40. According to Tarn (op. cit. p. 142) Demetrius himself was responsible for the conquest of Sind. It is suggested that Patañjali mentions a town Dattamitri among the Śauvīras, founded by Dattamitra, who is named in the *Mahābhārata* as king of the Yavanas and the Śauvīras. He is undoubtedly Demetrius. The existence of this Demetrius is confirmed by an inscription (No. 18, Nāsik cave inscription). P. C. Bagchi suggested that the story of Kṛmiśa, the Yaksha, as narrated in the *Divyāvadāna* may contain an allusion to Demetrius's conquest in

Apollodotus, as quoted by Strabo,⁴¹ mentions that the Greeks conquered more of India than the Macedonians (Alexander) had done, and they became masters of the Indians; they overthrew more peoples than Alexander had done, most of all Menander, some himself and some Demetrius. It is further pointed out by Strabo that those who came after Alexander advanced beyond the Hypanis to the Ganges and Palibothra.⁴² Thus, the advance of the Greeks from the Greek and the Indian sources, as far as Pataliputra may be assumed as correct, but the absence of coins of Demetrius beyond the Indus⁴³ might imply that the Greek advance was hardly a conquest in the ordinary sense of the word. It is suggested by some scholars that the Greek kings were condottiere and their conquests raids.

The main question for consideration is: can the credit

India (IHQ. XXII. pp. 81ff). The question of Demetrius's conquest of Sind has, however, been discussed by several scholars. (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected works* Vol. I. pp. 11ff, 176; D. R. Bhandarkar. I.A. 1911. p. 12; *The Age of Imperial Unity* p. 107; Tarn: op. cit. pp. 142, 257.558; Raychaudhuri, op. cit. p. 382; Narain: op. cit. p. 39) Johnston proposed that there was no proof for the equation of Dattamitra mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* with Demetrius. (JRAS. 1939 pp. 217ff; 1940 p. 189), and Tarn withdrew his original conclusions. The passage from the *Mahābhārata* referring to a Yavanādhipa and Dattamitra is excluded from the Poona edition, though it figures in the Appendix. Vol. I Appendix I text 88 pp. 927-9.

41. XI.xi.1. McCrindle *India in classical literature* The original passage runs as follows: 'The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodotus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus) conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene, but of the kingdom of Sarostus, and Sigerdis which constitute the remainder of the coast. (See also Strabo. XV.1.3—McCrindle *ibid.* p. 7).

42. XV.1.27. McCrindle. op. cit. p. 32.

43. Narain quotes Marshall's report suggesting that out of 519 coins discovered in the Taxila excavation, there is only one copper coin with the trident bearing the name of Demetrius (*Taxila* Vol. II p. 798), which probably belongs to the other Demetrius. There are other places in Gandhāra in which numberless coins of Indo-Greek rulers, even of those

for Yavana advance as far as Pātaliputra be ascribed to Demetrius or to Menander, or to both? The evidence from the *Yuga-Purāṇa* has to be accepted as a whole, or it be totally rejected on this point. If we accept that the Yavanas besieged Sāketa and Mādhyamikā, as pointed out by Patañjali, and then proceeded as far as Pātaliputra, as noticed in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, then we have also to presume that they retreated with the lightning speed with which they had come, because of trouble at home. Patañjali seems to have ignored the sieging of Pātaliputra, but he is very specific at least on the sieging of Sāketa and Mādhyamikā (*arunad*), and not their conquest (*ajayat*). It can rightly be suggested that the Greek advance was in two directions—directly towards Ayodhyā and then on to Pātaliputra in the south-east, while the second one was towards Chittor, very probably under different commanders. If the advance towards the east was undertaken by Menander and that too in his capacity as king, there was no point in his sudden retreat because his capital was Śākala (Sialkot) nearer to both the places in northern India. Demetrius had his capital at Euthydemia, founded by his father at Sirkap in Taxila, as suggested by Tarn.⁴⁵ When the trouble from Eucratides brew up, he had reason to return back with speed. The political condition in homeland, the cause of retreat, favours Demetrius's claim, leaving aside other factors, to lay siege to cities in northern India, as noticed in the classical and Indian sources. Narain presumes⁴⁶ that the lines refer to the mutual feud which resulted in a deadly war between the invaders who participated in the attack on Pātaliputra. This might be a weak excuse for the retreat which no body

who probably did not rule there, have been found, but none of Demetrius I (*Indo-Greeks* p. 31).

4. Tarn: op. cit. p. 146.

45. *ibid.* p. 247. The Saggala of Arrian (V. 22) and Saggala when Ptolemy (VII.1.46) speaks of Sagala and Euthydemia may denote the same locality, and may be identified with the ancient town of Śākala (Pāli Sāgala) modern Sialkot. It was proposed by Boyer that the town of Euthydemia was founded by Demetrius to commemorate his father's memory. This suggestion was accepted by scholars (CHT: I p 446), but rejected by Tarn on both historical and textual grounds (op. cit. pp 247-8. 486-7) see also Co.H.I. p 152.

questions. In earlier instances,⁴⁷ as for example, in the retreat of Alexander, and also that of Seleukos, we find the political factor and the trouble at home involving the trial of strength, as the cause of their retreat. Demetrius was definitely earlier than Menander. According to Justin,⁴⁸ Eucratides carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced his losses in them, yet when he was besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a large force of sixty thousand. The passage does not specifically mention Demetrius as son of Euthydemos, the point considerably stressed by Narain,⁴⁹ the epithet *King of the Indians*, is considered as decisive in his identification with the Great Demetrius. It may be suggested that the invasion noticed by Patañjali, resulting in the siege of Sāketa and Mādhyamikā, and that of Pātaliputra according to the Yuga-Purāṇa of the *Gārgī-Saṃhitā*, was undertaken by Demetrius. There was no permanent conquest and the invaders retreated with an equally swift speed. This event seems to have happened during the last days of the Mauryan dynasty under Brihadratha. Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the Commander-in-chief, availed of this opportunity, slew his master, and reigned in his stead. He did not assume the title of the Emperor, but he performed the horse sacrifice which had been

46. op. cit. p. 179.

47. According to Plutarch, the battle with Porus depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover, they were afraid of the Gangardae and the Prasii (Raychaudhuri op. cit. p. 261). Both Justin and Plutarch furnish details regarding Seleukos coming to understanding with Chandragupta, the former proceeding to join the war against Antigonos (ibid. p. 272).

48. Xli. 6; Narain, op. cit. p. 34.

49. K. P. Jayaswal restored the letters after *Yavanrāja* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla. He read the letters as *Dimita* (JBORS. XIII. 2 p. 27) identified by him with Demetrius, which was accepted by Banerji (ibid. p. 221), and Sten Konow (AO. I. p. 27). According to Barua, the inscription contains no statement as to the Greek king Dimita-Demetrius, retracing with his troops and transport to abandon Mathurā. Further there is no reference to Yavanarāja, far from mentioning his name—(Old Brāhmī inscriptions p. xii). Tarn conjectures that the decipherment affords no firm ground to the historian (op. cit. p. 459).

in abeyance to vindicate his sovereignty. According to the Ayodhyā inscription, Pushyamitra is credited with the performance of two horse sacrifices (*Kosalādhipena dviraśvame-dha-yājinaḥ senāpateḥ Puṣhyamitrāsa*).⁵⁰ Patañjali also mentions sacrifices being performed for Pushyamitra (*iha Puṣhyamitram yājayāmaḥ*).⁵¹ There could not be a more befitting occasion for the performance of this sacrifice than the retreat of the Yavanas and the Senapati's assumption of power in Magadha. The second sacrifice must be the one referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa, which was to commemorate his victory over the Yavanas.

The Vidarbha Affair: The only reference to this incident is afforded by the drama of Kālidāsa,⁵² written about six hundred years later. Its evidentiary value need not be questioned, and the event described by Kālidāsa appears to be natural in sequence. As Pushyamitra had imprisoned a brother-in-law of Yajñasena who was a *sachiva* of the late Mauryan emperor at Pātaliputra, he, in turn, put in prison Mādhavasena, the rightful heir to the Vidarbha throne. This happened when the latter was crossing the frontier along with his younger sister Mālavikā who was betrothed to Agnimitra, Pushyamitra's son and Viceroy at Vidisā. The Śuṅga prince described in this drama as *Rājan*, took up cudgels against Yajñasena, flouting the condition imposed by the latter for the simultaneous release of his brother-in-law at Pātaliputra.⁵³

50. EI. XX. p. 54.

51. III. 2. 123 p. 124. 4.

52. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama* pp. 147ff. It is supposed to be the first dramatic work of Kālidāsa (Keith, JRAS. 1909 pp. 433ff; Bloch, ZDMG LXIII. 671ff; Konow, *Indische Drama* p. 59ff). Vidarbha corresponding to modern Berar is referred to in this drama as a new kingdom established not long ago (*achirādākṣhitā*) and the king is described as not having taken roots in the heart of his subjects (*rājyaḥ śatru prakritishu arūddhamūlatvāt*) and so his destruction was easy like a tree which is unsteady, because it has been only lately planted (*nava samārohaṇa śithilas tarur iva sukarah samuddhartum* (Act I.8). The cause of the trouble is given in the letter written by the Vidarbha king who addresses Agnimitra as his royal brother.

53. *Maurya sachivam vimuñcchati yadi pūjyaḥ saṁyātām mama śyālam mokṣā Mādhavasenas tato mayā bandhanāt sadyaḥ* (Act I.7). This is suggestion of some matrimonial relation between the Mauryas

He exhibited his power and prestige. The Śuṅga army proceeded as far as Varadā (modern Wardā) and Yajñasena submitted. The kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two rival cousins, the river Varadā forming the boundary between the two parts. This naturally extended the influence of the Śuṅgas to the south of the river Narmadā.⁵⁵

Clash with the Yavanas and the second sacrifice: The Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva and the evidence from the *Mālavikāgnimitram*⁵⁶ point to the performance of the horse sacrifice by the Śuṅga monarch which, according to the earlier evidence was the second one. Patañjali in his comment on

and the Vidarbha family, or, as supposed by Raychaudhuri, in the Mauryan Court there were two parties or factions, one headed by the king's Minister, and the other by his general. The minister's partisan was appointed governor of Vidarbha, while the general's son, Agnimitra got the vice-royalty of Vidiśā when the General organised the *Coup d'État* by killing the Mauryan emperor and imprisoning the minister Yajñasena declared his independence and entered into hostile relations with the usurping family (PHAI. p. 236ff.)

54. *ḍvidhā vibhaktam śriyam udahantau*
dhuram rathāsvāv iva saṁgrahitūh
tau sthāsyatas te nrīpatir nideśe
parasparāvagraha nirvikārau (Act V, 14).

The release of the Mauryan sachiva was not a condition precedent to the truce, but, as we find later in the drama itself, he was released when the good news about the success of Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra was received by his father Agnimitra and a general amnesty was granted (*yajñasenaśyālam urarīkrītya muchyantām (mochyātām) sarve bandhansthā* (Act V. p. 101).

55. It was suggested by L. D. Barnett that Yajñasena was a feudatory of the Andhras, but it is clear from the drama that there was no aid given to him from any quarter, so either Barnett's assumption is wrong, or the Andhra ruler was not in a position to come to his feudatory's aid. According to Rapson (CHI p. 532) Ujjain was lost to the Andhra monarch Śātakarṇi I. This assumption is based on the coins of Malwa fabric bearing the name Śāta identified by him with Śātakarṇi whose coins, however, show the full legend *raño siri śādavāhaṇas* (JNSI. VII. p. 1). The inscription of queen Nāyanikā does not attribute the conquest of Avanti to Śātakarṇi I. The Jain tradition as preserved by Merutuṅga counts Pushyamitra amongst the rulers of Avanti and assigns him a reign of 30 years in this region. The Jain *gāthās* mention Bālamita and Bhānumita as successors of Pushyamitra in Avanti. Thus, an Andhra Śuṅga conflict at this stage is ruled out. (Co. HI pp. 97-98).

56. op cit.

Pāṇini III.2.123, while quoting the Vārttika of Kātyāyana which enjoins the use of *laṭ* to denote an action or undertaking which has begun but not finished, quotes as an example here we dwell (*iha vasāmaḥ*), here we perform the sacrifice instituted by Pushyamitra (*iha Pushyamitraṃ Yājayāmaḥ*).⁵⁷ It is not certain if Patañjali refers to the first or the second horse sacrifice in his comment. Kālidāsa's reference to the performance of the horse sacrifice is in sequence with the victory of the Śuṅga forces over those of the Yavanas. That this event happened in the last years of Pushyamitra's reign is evident from the fact that the feat was accomplished by Agnimitra's son Vasumitra. In his letter the aged father pleads for the removal of distrust and anger in the mind of his son, and asks him to join the festivities along with his two queens. This must be the second Yavana invasion, undertaken this time by Menander. Apollodorus⁵⁸ actually refers to two such invasions. Since Menander's coins have been found as far as Yamunā,⁵⁹ and he is better known in Indian

57. op. cit.

58. Strabo XI-516.

59. NC. 1872 p. 159; IA. XXXIII. p. 217.

60. According to A. K. Narain, Tarn's theory about Menander's conquest of mid-India has no basis to stand upon, and he doubts whether Menander made any conquest in the east beyond the Jhelum. There was only one invasion of the Greeks, of the nature of a raid in course of which they might have reached Pāṭaliputra, but there was no conquest (*The Indo-Greeks* pp. 50ff). See also R. C. Majumdar: JNSI. Vol. XXII. p. 51). Scholars have doubted Cunningham's suggestion that the battle between the Yavana and the Śuṅga forces, as mentioned by Kālidāsa, took place on the bank of Kālī Sindhu, a tributary of the Chambal, but on the Indus itself. (See B. S. Upadhyaya, JBHU. 1942 p. 171ff), also Majumdar IHQ. I. p. 264). According to Tarn, the territory of Menander extended upto the Sindh, a tributary of the Chambal, and Vasumitra, who was guarding the horse, came to the south bank of the Sindhu and had a brush with some Yavana cavalry who were patrolling the northern bank (Tarn- op. cit. p. 228). One has to consider the available evidence, not in pieces, but as a collective whole. Menander's status as a ruler at Śāgala is not denied by any scholar, but the location of his capital is a matter of disputation (Narain: *Indo Greeks*-Appendix III). According to him, Śāgala of the *Milindapañha* and Śākala, the town of the Mādra country are not necessarily identical (p. 172), but it should be Udyāna. The western limit of Pushyamitra's empire is not certain. The *Divyāvadāna* records the story of his proceeding to the north-west

history than Demetrius, it is quite likely that with his capital at Śāgala, he may have tried to measure strength with the Śuṅga monarch.⁶⁰ The sacrifice mentioned by Kālidāsa in his drama definitely appears to be the second one performed by the Śuṅga monarch Pushyamitra after the defeat of the Yavana forces which appear to be under the command of Menander.⁶¹ Pushyamitra had good grounds to patch up differences with his eldest son Agnimitra, for the victory was achieved by his own son, and the invitation to attend the ceremony along with the queens was in consonance with the desire of the aged father to mend matters with his son.

The supposed invasion of King Khāravela: The Hāthīgumphā inscription has baffled historians for a long time. It is supposed to furnish some information on the retreat of the

as far as Śākala (Sialkot) and even beyond and tormenting the Buddhists. The substance of this story is traced in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the campaign of the Śuṅga ruler in the north-west is taken as an historical fact. (IHQ. XXII. ib. 82ff). This story is not devoid of truth according to Tarn (op. cit. p. 177). In the maze of these conjectures, it is difficult to deny the clash between the two ruling powers; and it is more likely that Menander's forces might have come into clash with those of the Śuṅgas near Kālī Sindhu and were defeated, rather than on the bank of the Sindhu in the heart of the Yavana kingdom, where they were naturally expected to be in a more formidable position. That accounts for the absence of any hoard of Menander's coin east of the Jhelum, but the coins were found as far as Yamunā. (NC. 1872 p. 159; 1A. XXXIII. 1907 p. 217).

61. K. P. Jayaswal suggested that Pushyamitra performed the second horse sacrifice to vindicate his position after he had suffered humiliation at the hands of Khāravela (JBORS.X. p. 205). According to Ray Chaudhuri, the two horse sacrifices were performed after the victorious wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas (PHAI. 3rd ed. p. 267). D. R. Bhandarkar presupposed that the first *Aśvamedha* sacrifice coincided with the besiege of Śāketa and Mādhyamikā, and the second invasion seems to be adverted to in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Gārgi Saṃhitā* (IC.I. p. 279). As regards the second one, he pointed out that after the western most part of the Āryāvarta was seized upon and annexed to the Greek kingdom of Menander, when things had settled down, Pushyamitra, despite the loss of a small territory, celebrated the *Aśvamedha yajña* which appeared to be the same as referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram*. It was suggested by Dr. Majumdar that the performance of horse sacrifice was to establish his claim to the Magadhan throne both as a *de facto* and a *de jure* ruler. (IHQ.I. p. 91). Probably this might be with reference to the first one.

Yavanas, but it definitely refers to the defeat of the king of Magadha. Some scholars have worked out the relations between Pushyamitra and this ruler of Kalinga on the basis of the data from this inscription. The first passage—*panamtariya sathi vasa sate rājā Muriya kāle vochchine*—was construed by Bhagwan Lal Indraji⁶² to mean the eighth year in which Āsoka conquered Kalinga and when this era was possibly founded. It corresponds to B.C. 255 and, therefore, the date in the inscription when Khāravēla did certain works in the Udaigiri caves in 165 Maurya or B.C. 165=90 B.C. As this is the thirteenth year of Khāravēla's accession, 103 B.C. be taken as the year of his accession. Bühler,⁶³ adopting Indraji's views regarding the thirteenth year of Khāravēla's reign corresponding to the 165th year of the Mauryan era, beginning with the coronation of Chandragupta between 322-312 B.C., places Khāravēla's accession between 170 and 160 B.C.

According to Fleet,⁶⁴ the passage nowhere refers to any date. *Panamtariya* could not mean 'sixty five'. It represents sanskrit *Prajñāptarya*, and *vochchine* or *vochchimme* could not correspond to sanskrit *vichchina* but is the well-known Jain technical term *Vochchinna*=*Vyavachchinnāni* applied to sacred texts which have been cut off, interrupted or neglected. The use of this term prohibits the reference to any date in the record. This contention of Fleet was endorsed by Lüders⁶⁵ and Charpentier,⁶⁶ but Banerji and Jayaswal⁶⁷ supported Bhagwan Lal Indraji with differences in reading. The last two were also supported by Smith,⁶⁸ Dubreuil⁶⁹ and Aiyar⁷⁰ but opposed by Majumdar⁷¹ and R. P. Chanda⁷² on the ground that Khāravēla being a Cheta, could not naturally be expected

62. *Congress de Leyden*, 1883 III p. 135.

63. EI. II. p. 88.

64. JRAS. 1910 p. 242.

65. EI. X Appendix p. 160-1. No. 1345.

66. IA. 1914. p. 17 on.

67. JBORS III p. 425ff and subsequent references.

68. JRAS. 1918 p. 543f; 1919 p. 399.

69. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 1920 p. 12.

70. IA. 1920 p. 43ff.

71. IA. 1918 p. 223f; 1919 p. 187f.

72. IA. 1919 p. 214f, JRAS 1919 p. 395f.

to have used the Mauryan era,⁷³ and that palaeographic considerations point to the first half of the first century B.C. as Khāravēla's date. The sculptural piece of evidence, as pointed out by Marshall,⁷⁴ belongs to a considerably late period.

The other passage supposed to furnish some date lined which reads as—*Pañchame cha dāni Nandarāja-ti-vasa-sata oghāttitam Tamasuliya vatā pañādīm nagaram payesayati* (.) *sata(saha)sehi cha (khānā) pa (yati)*. The expression *ti-vasa-sata* may mean 163 years or 300 years after Nandarāja king Nanda. According to Jayaswal,⁷⁵ it should mean 300 years, and he placed Khāravēla and Pushyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identified with Nandavardhana. Raychaudhuri⁷⁶ objected to this identification on the ground that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Saiśunāga king and the Saiśunāgis do not appear to have done anything in Kalinga. This Nandarāja should be identified with Mahāpadma or one of his son, as the conqueror of Kalinga. Taking *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300 years it is easy to conclude that the rise of Khāravēla probably synchronises with the fall of the Śuṅga dynasty and the consequent weakening of the Magadhan power.

Barua objected⁷⁷ to the identification of Nandarāja in view of the conclusive statements from the Aśokan Rock Edict III—which credits the Mauryan ruler as the first amongst the Indian kings after the death of the Buddha to conquer the unconquered land of Kalinga (*avijitam vijinitum*). He suggested two alternatives:—either identify Nandarāja with Aśoka and assign Khāravēla's accession to the second quarter of the 1st century A.D. by interpreting *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 300 years; or with Śiśunandi or yaśonandi who snatched away Vidisā from the Śuṅga dominions at the fall of the Śuṅga power, and assign Khāravēla's accession in the second quarter

73. Sten Konow also contended that king Khāravēla, who was not Maurya, would not date his epigraph in the Mauryan era, the less so because the rule of the Mauryas ceased by that time. (op. cit. p. 17).

74. CII.I. p. 624f; 638f.

75. JBORS.XIII. p. 253.

76. PHAI—3rd ed. p. 257.

77. op. cit. p. 281.

of the 1st century A.D. interpreting *ti-vasa-sata* in the sense of 103 years.

Neither the identification of the ruler, nor the interpretation of the expression mentioned above, either from the time of Mahāpadma Nanda or from the accession of Chandragupta as 300 or 103 years, make the Kalinga hero the contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. The identification of Bahasatimitra-Brihaspatimitra with Pushyamitra rests on the flimsiest ground of Brihaspati being the regent of the *Nakshatra* or zodiacal asterism *Pushyā*, also called *Tishyā* in the constellation cancer or the crab. Further, the palaeography of the Hāthīgumphā record points to its late character. A number of letters with thick-headed vertical or serif *ka* with the lower part of the vertical prolonged invariable round *ga*; *chha* of the butterfly type with two loops, and *ta* having in most cases rounded lower part, help us in determining the appropriate age of this record. According to R. P. Chanda,⁷⁸ the Hāthīgumphā inscription is later in date not only than Aśoka's edicts and the Besnager Garuḍa pillar inscriptions, but is posterior to the Bhārhut Torāṇa Inscription and the Nānāghāt inscription of the Āndhra king Śiri Śātakarṇi I.

The evidence from the coins rules out the possibility of identifying Bahasatimitra with Pushyamitra. The coins of the latter have not been found, while those of the former are closely connected, according to Allan, with the coins of Agnimitra (Agimita) and Jyeshthamitra (Jeṭhamitara). He has pointed⁷⁹ out that Brihaspatimitra (evidently of this group) is mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription, while the epigraphy of the Pabhosā inscription agrees very well with that of Brihaspatimitra II's coins. It appears probable that the person issuing coins was different from the one defeated by Khāravela; and it is certain that the latter cannot be identified with Pushyamitra. This fact is supported from different stand-points. Even the reading 'Bahasatimitra' in the record of Khāravela is impossible. The only certain reading is *bahu*, and it might not be suggestive of a proper name; and so also

78. IHQ. V. p. 599.

79. *Catalogue of coins of Ancient India*, p. xcvi.

is the reading of the preceding words as *māgadhānī cha rāja-ñam*. The equation Pushyā=Brihaspati is equally ridiculous.

Pushyamitra's empire: The extent of Pushyamitra's empire is rather uncertain, since the coins of this Śuṅga ruler have not been found. The Ayodhyā inscription and the evidence from the *Mālavikāgnimitram* suggest that it definitely extended upto Ayodhyā and Vidisā, probably further west as well. It is proposed⁸⁰ that soon after the defeat of Menander's advance columns on the Indus, he launched a vigorous attack and pushed on to the banks of the Rāvi. According to the text of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* as amended by Dhruva,⁸¹ Pushyamitra is said to have waged war against the Greek ruler of Śākala for the sake of beautiful women, and he died fighting. It was suggested by Rapson⁸² that Śākala was wrested by Menander perhaps during Pushyamitra's life time. The *Divyāvadāna* refers⁸³ to the Brāhmin Śuṅga marching out with a fourfold army destroying stūpas, burning monasteries and killing monks, as far as Śākala, where he announced a reward of one hundred dinars for killing one *bhikṣu*. This evidence, is, however, partial and uncorroborated, there seems little substance in the story of the Śuṅga monarch's exhuberance for his ancestral faith at the cost of Buddhism, in view of a number of additions to the beautiful railings at Bhārhut done in this period. It may be suggested that the Śuṅga monarch's empire extended upto east Punjab, abutting on the dominions of his Greek contemporary. In the south it reached as far as Berar though the actual extent might not have been beyond Vidisā.

Pushyamitra's Successors: The Purāṇas attribute to the founder of this dynasty a reign of 36 years,⁸⁴ and it is now

80. CoHI. p. 98.

81. JBORS XVI pp. 18ff.

82. CHI.I. p. 519.

83. Cowell & Neill p. xxix.

84. Pushyamitra, according to the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* is assigned a rule of 60 years. This might include the first period when he was Mauryan Viceroy at Vidisā, and the second one as the *de facto* and *de jure* ruler. (Majumdar IHQ.I. p. 91ff). According to Sten Konow, Pushyamitra ruled for 30 years in Malwa, and 6 years in Magadha. (AO.I, Co.H.I. p. 100n).

generally accepted that it ended in 148 B.C., and he was succeeded by Agnimitra. The *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* have instead Vasujyeshtha as his successor. The two lines from these Purāṇas furnish some interesting evidence which was taken into consideration by Jayaswal. According to his hypothesis,⁸⁵ Pushyamitra divided his empire into sub-kingdoms, as he interpreted *kārayishati vai rājyam*, and his sons ruled jointly (*Pushyamitra-sutas-ch-ashṭau bhavishyanti samā nripāḥ*).⁸⁶ It is further implied that Vasujyeshtha alias Sujoyeshtha was the eldest. The absence of Agnimitra's name is conspicuous. It can be conjectured that Pushyamitra had two sons—Vasujyeshtha and Agnimitra, the former as the elder one was staying in the capital at Pataliputra as the heir apparent, while Agnimitra was the Viceroy at Vidisā. The fraternal jealousy, so common among the princes, might have been the cause of Agnimitra's anger which the aged father asks his son to shake off in his letter to him in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*. To compose the differences, Agnimitra's son Vasumitra was appointed commander of the forces.

It appears probable that after Pushyamitra's death, his sons Vasujyeshtha and Agnimitra ruled concurrently, the former with his capital at Pataliputra and the latter at Vidisā. According to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Vasumitra was the son of Sujoyeshtha which might be another name of Vasujyeshtha, also corroborated by *Vāyu Purāṇa*⁸⁷ (though in the *Matsya* it is *tathā* and not *sutā*). This contradicts the evidence furnished by the drama of Kālidāsa. That would mean that either we identify Agnimitra with Sujoyeshtha-Vasujyeshtha, disturbing, of course, the chronological list, or accept the reading of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, distinguishing the two. It would be advisable to presume that the two brothers ruled at the same time, and Vasujyeshtha probably died issueless, so the nephew succeeded his uncle at Pataliputra. After his

85. JBORS. X. p. 202ff & XV p. 583.

86. Pargiter noticed another form *kārishyati* in a manuscript, (ME. Jmt. op. cit. p. 31n.6) denoting plain future rather than causative. *Samā* stands for 'years' and not 'equal', and *ashṭa* evidently means 'eight' and not eight sons, as proposed by Jayaswal.

87. Wilson. IV. p. 24.

father Agnimitra's death, the two wings of the Śuṅga empire were united under one sovereign—Vasumitra. There is no indication of joint rule, as suggested by Jayaswal. He contended that *Suganam raje* in the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti was suggestive of 'the rule of the Śuṅgas', as it was used in the genitive plural. In the absence of any evidence to warrant this suggestion, the expression appears to be very common, referring probably to the empire of the Śuṅgas. Further, there is no ground for associating Dhanabhūti and his record to Pushyamitra and his times.

Nothing is known about Vasujyeshṭha,⁸⁸ but about Agnimitra it is suggested by some scholars⁸⁹ that he should be identified with the one whose coins bearing the legend *Agnimitrasa* in Brāhmī characters of the second century B.C. have been found at various places in Pañchāla. It would be dangerous to associate the Śuṅga rulers of the Pauranic lists with any local rulers of Pañchāla or Kauśāmbi for name sake. It was, however, suggested by Raychaudhuri⁹⁰ that several names could not be

88. It is suggested that the correct form is Sujyeshṭha, and the variant Vasujyeshṭha is due to the confusion between *cha* and *va* which are alike in Gupta script (Co. H. I. p. 100 & n.)

89. Cunningham doubted the identity of the Pañchāla ruler with the Śuṅga monarch, and suggested that he probably belonged to a local dynasty of northern Pañchāla, because he alone agrees with the Pauranic lists and not of others. Secondly, the circulation of his coins was confined within the limits of northern Pañchāla. (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. xcvi). Rivett Carnac (JASB. 1880 pp. 21ff), Jayaswal (JBORS. III. pp. 477), and others suggested that, besides Agnimitra a few more could be identified, as for example, Sujyeshṭha or Vasujyeshṭha with Jethamitra; Ghoshamitra, Bhadrachosha, and Bhūmimitra with the Kānva king of that name. Recently T. P. Bhattacharya also made an attempt to correlate the kings bearing the title *Mitra* whose coins have been found at various places, in Northern India, without adding any new evidence (JBORS. XXXV-1947 pp. 47ff). Numismatists, however, are reluctant to attribute these local coins to Agnimitra (Allan, *Cat. coins of Ancient India* pp. cxx, cxxi).

90. PHAI. 3rd ed. p. 267. Names of two Mitra kings—Bhānumitra and Indramitra are recorded on two rail pillars at Bodh-Gaya as well as on coins discovered at Mathurā and Pañchāla. (CHI. I p. 526). According to Rapson, Brahmanitra was probably a contemporary of king Indramitra of Ahichatra, for both names are noticed on the railing pillars at Bodh-Gaya, assigned on palaeographic grounds to the earliest part of the first century B.C. (ibid).

identified, but they might have been names of those Śuṅgas who survived the usurpation of Vāsudeva Kāṇva and the remnant of whose power destroyed by the Andhra (bhrityas) and Śiśunandī. The title of *Rājan* accorded to Agnimitra might be an honorific one, or by way of courtesy. On the other hand, it is quite likely that Agnimitra was ruling in his personal capacity, probably with a shadow of allegiance to his father. His arrogance and conceit in dealing with the Vidarbha problem without references to Pātaliputra, and the subsequent release of the Mauryan sachiva, the brother-in-law of Yajñasena might be suggestive of the power and position of Agnimitra in the time of his father.

Vasumitra,⁹¹ described as the son of Agnimitra, comes fourth in the list. He is well-known as the hero of the conquest associated with the second horse sacrifice performed by his grand father. His career is shrouded in mystery, except for the reference to the defeat of the Yavanas at his hands on the banks of the Sindhu in the time of his grand father. He ruled for a period of 10 years and was succeeded by Antaka or Bhadraka according to the *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas respectively. The *Vishṇu* Purāṇa calls him Ardraka or Odruka. He is identified by Jayaswal⁹² with Udāka of the Pabbosa record,

91. He is identified with Sumitra of Bāṇa. The name also figures in some MSS of the Purāṇas. The majority of Purāṇa MSS and Kālidāsa have the name Vasumitra. It is taken as a scribal error (Co. H. I. p. 100n). According to Bāṇa this ruler gave himself up to a life of ease and pleasure, fond of music and dancing he was killed while enjoying a concert (*atidāyitalāsyasya cha śailuśa-madhyā madhyāsya mūrdhānam asilatayā mriṇālāmiva alunad—Agnimītrāmajasya sumitrasya Mūladevah.*) One MSS from Kashmir gives the name of the assassin as Mitradeva which is taken as a scribal substitute on the analogy of expressions like Gauḍādhipa or Magadhanātha, meaning the Mitra=Śuṅga king. This Mūladeva is considered by Jagannath as a predecessor of Dhanadeva of the Ayodhyā inscription (Co. H. I. p. 100 n.5).

92. Jayaswal identified (JBORS III p. 474) Ārdraka or Ordūka with Udāka mentioned in a Pabbosā inscription (EI II p. 243). The reference to Udāka is made in the other inscription of Āśhāḍhasena (EI II p. 242 n. 1), who caused a cave to be dug in the tenth year of a ruler whose name is not very clear, but is presumed to be Udāka). According to Führer, all letters are doubtful, and if we take the second inscription into consideration, it is Bahasatimitra, who was ruling at Kauśāmbī close to the place

a suggestion endorsed by Rapson which lacks plausibility.⁹³ On the other hand, it is proposed⁹⁴ that Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghosha do not appear to belong to the Śuṅga family, but had crept into the Pauranic text on account of some confusion, and the exclusion of their total reigns of eight years would bring down the total length of the Śuṅga dynasty to 112 years. The first two—Andhraka and Pulindaka—might have been associated with the unrecorded Andhra raid over Pāṭaliputra and its temporary occupation, while Ghosha might have been from Pañchāla. All the three took advantage of the weakening political situation and the turmoil following the murder of Sumitra identified with Vasumitra.

Vajramitra is suggested to have immediately succeeded Sumitra or Vasumitra, with an unimpressive and uneventful reign of nine years. He was succeeded by Bhāgavata. Two inscriptions, associated with him, or of his time, have been found at Vidisā.⁹⁵ The first one dated in the twelfth year of King Bhāgavata and recorded on a fragment of a stone pillar mentions the setting up of a flag staff in honour of the god Viṣṇu by one Gautamīputra. The second one from Besnagar, about two miles from Bhilsa (Vidisā) is dated in the fourteenth year of king Bhāgavadra. Bhāgavata—Bhāgavadra of the two records appear to be identical with the ninth Śuṅga ruler Bhāgavata. The second record is important for shedding light on diplomatic relations between the Śuṅga monarch at Vidisā and the Indo-Greek ruler at Taxila. This Śuṅga ruler had a long reign of 32 years, followed by the last king Devabhūti of this dynasty. Bāṇa refers⁹⁶ to the weakness of this person for women. He

where the cave was excavated. Jayaswal's identification of this ruler with the fifth Śuṅga monarch is not probable.

93. Barua proposed that Udāka might be a place-name (IHQ. 1930. p. 23). He does not bear any honorific like *mahārājādhirāja*.

94. Co. HI. p. 161.—It is suggested by Jagannāth that by excluding these three names and their reigns covering 8 years, the total length comes to 112 years. (*Salam-pūṇam daśa dve*). We have endorsed Pargiter's views that the partial years are counted as full years, hence the discrepancy.

95. ASIAR—1913-14, p. 190; CHI. pp. 521-2.

96. *Ṣi-strī saṅga ratam anāṅga-paravaśam Śuṅgaṁ amātyo Vāsudevo Devabhūti dāsi-duhitṛā-devī Vyañjanayā vītañvitam akārayāt. Har. char. p. 269.*

lost his life at the hands of the daughter of his female attendant disguised as a queen. The person instrumental in his murder was his own minister Vāsudeva, who ascended the throne and founded a new dynasty of the Kāṇvas. According to the *Purāṇas*⁹⁷ the Kāṇvas along with whatever was left of the Śuṅga power, (*Suṅgānām chāpi yachchishṭam kshapayitvā balam cha*), were destroyed by the Andhras. This is suggestive of the rule of the Śuṅgas even after the loss of their hold over Magadha. Details in this connection are, however, wanting.⁹⁸

Thus, ended the Brahmin Śuṅga dynasty after a rule of 112 years sometime in 72-73 B.C.⁹⁹ The end was as sudden as that of the dynasty which preceded it, and in more or less similar circumstances. The last rulers of both met their ends at the hands, or at the instigation, of their officers. Weakness whether in handling political situation as a result of foreign invasion, or with women proved very expensive for them. The Brahmin mind worked and succeeded in arranging the *coup d' état* in both the instances, while details are recorded by the court poet several centuries later. The *Purāṇas*, however, hint at the change of the dynasties and their history.

Kāṇvas: The Kāṇvas, also known as *Suṅgabhrityas*, are mentioned in the *Purāṇas*,¹⁰⁰ as the successors of the Śuṅgas. The minister Vāsudeva forcibly overthrew the dissolute Devabhūti, and became the king among the Śuṅgas (*Suṅgeshubhavitā nripaḥ*). This dynasty consisted of four rulers—besides the founder who ruled for nine years, his son Bhūmimitra who is assigned fourteen years, and the last two kings Nārāyaṇa and Suśarman ruling for 12 and 10 years respectively. These

97. The Devabhūti of Bāṇa and Devabhūmi of the *Purāṇas* are identical. The latter mention the end of the last ruler of this dynasty in similar circumstances. *Amātyo Vāsudevas tu bālyād vyasaninām nripam Devabhūmim tathotpātya Suṅgeshu bhavitā nripaḥ*.

98. According to Raychaudhuri, the Andhrabhrityas or Śātavāhanas who swept away the remains of the Śuṅga power, probably appointed Śiśunandi to govern the Viṣṭā region (PHAI, pp. 395-6, 5th ed.)

99. The end of this dynasty is placed in 75 B.C. (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 98) & Smith, c73 B.C. (E.H.I p 215) (cf COHI. p. 162).

100. Like the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvāyaṇas were also Brahmins, tracing their origin to the Vedic Kāṇva (*Vedic Index* I. p. 147). For references to the Kāṇvas in the *Purāṇas*—See (Amt. 272; 32-37; *Vayu*, 9); Pargiter—*Dynasties of the Kālī Age* p. 33.

remembered as Śuṅgabhrityakāṇvāyaṇa kings are apportioned a total period of 49 years. It is further mentioned that they would have the neighbouring kings in subjection, and rule righteously. (*ete praṇata sāmanta bhaviṣyā dhārmikāścha ye*). The extent of the Kāṇva kingdom appears to be much less than that of their predecessor with the Indo-Greeks in the north-west including the Punjab, the States of Pañchāla, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Vidiśā in Āryāvarta, and an independent and strong Kaliṅga. The Andhras in the south are described as the successors of the Kāṇvas. Some scholars have tried to link the Kāṇva rulers for name-sake with rulers of Pañchāla and other places whose coins have been found, as for example Bhūmitra, the son of Vāsudeva, with the one whose coins bearing the legend Bhūmitra have been found at several places in Pañchāla,¹⁰¹ and Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇumitra,¹⁰² and Suśarman with the founder of the Parivrajaka dynasty.¹⁰³ The suggestions are least plausible.

Dynasties of the Gangetic Plain: With the decline of the Śuṅgas, disintegrating forces seem to have been gained momentum, resulting in the establishment of independent kingdoms, or the assumption of independence by those owing allegiance to the Śuṅga house at Pāṭaliputra. Coins bring out a uniform set of rulers at Kośala, Pañchāla, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā which appear to be of the period from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. These coins also bear legends—suggesting the names of the rulers in those regions. Since these are punch-marked, the symbols punched on them vary from region to region, indicative of their independent existence. If these had been issued under the Śuṅgas, one is bound to trace uniform symbols. The conclusion is that these kingdoms were independent of each other, and were immune from any control from Pāṭaliputra. Their history centres round a few personalities in each case and we might consider these individually.

101. Co. H.I. p. 103; Jayaswal. III. p. 479; Raychaudhuri. PHAI-5th ed. p. 388.

102. *Proceedings All-India Oriental Conference* (Madras) p. 412.

103. ABORI. XIX. p. 83. The chronological gap between the two being too wide, the possibility of their identification is ruled out.

Kośala: The famous Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva¹⁰⁴ traces the relation of this ruler with Pushyamitra, (*Senāpateḥ Pushyamitrasya shashṭhena*) which has been construed to mean sixth in descent from Pushyamitra. The inscription records the building of a sepulchral monument by him in honour of his father king Phalgudeva. It has been suggested on the basis of the evidence from the *Harshacarita* of Bāṇa,¹⁰⁵ that Mūladeva (Mitradeva) murdered the Śuṅga monarch Sumitra (Vasumitra), and since his coins have been found at Ayodhyā, he seems to have declared himself independent of the Śuṅgas. The coins of Mūladeva along with those of his successors form a uniform set with a bull or elephant on the obverse and five or six characteristic symbols.¹⁰⁶ Besides Mūladeva, others whose coins have been found include Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva and Dhanadeva. The last one is identified¹⁰⁷ with Kauśikīputra Dhana (rest of the name is lost) of the Ayodhyā inscription. He seems to be connected with the Kauśikīputra king Indrāgnimitra of the Bodh-Gaya Inscription as an elder or a younger brother,¹⁰⁸ and Śivadatta whose coins have been found in Kośala, probably belonged to the house of Mathurā. The next class of coins found there are those of Satyamitra, Āryamitra, Saṅghamitra, Vijayamitra, Devavarman and Ajavarman. They had no link with the previous dynasty but they seem to have preceded the Kushāṇa hold over this region, as is evident from the Sahet-Mahet inscription of Kanishka.¹⁰⁹

Pañchāla: The existence of a Mitra dynasty at Pañchāla is evident from a uniform series of coins found, according to Cunningham,¹¹⁰ at Ahichchatra, Aonla and Budaon, with their circulation confined only to north Pañchāla. He assigned these

104. op. cit.

105. op. cit. Parab's ed. p. 199; Cowell & Thomas (Trans.) p. 192.

106. Allan—*Cat. Coins of Ancient India*, p. lxxxviii.

107. CoHI. p. 105.

108. The Bodh-Gayā inscription only records the donation of the Queen of Indrāgnimitra at the sacred centre. It is not suggestive of his rule in that region although Barua proposed the contrary view (IHQ. 1930, p. 13).

109. EI.VIII. p. 180ff. According to Allan, the reigns of these rulers probably covered the first two centuries A.D.

110. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 75.

coins to a local dynasty, since these were rarely found beyond the limits mentioned earlier. While considering the identity of these Pañchāla rulers with the Śuṅgas, he pointed out that the assignment is uncertain, as only one of the coin-names Agnimitra is found in the Pauranic list of the Śuṅgas. This view was not accepted by some scholars¹¹¹ who tried to identify several coin-names, besides that of Agnimitra, and Mitra coins were also found at Ayodhyā and at Mathurā. According to Rapson,¹¹² the coins under this heading have usually been attributed to the Śuṅga or Mitra dynasty. He pointed out that the formation of the names which generally end in *mitra* is similar in either case; and the Śuṅga period inferred from the Purāṇas B.C. 176-66 is that of the style and epigraphy of the coins. He noticed some connection between these coins and the Mitra coins found at Ayodhyā.

K. P. Jayaswal and following him several others identified the Pañchāla rulers with the Śuṅga Kāṇva kings.¹¹³ Without going into the merit of Jayaswal's identification, it may be pointed out that the list of rulers indentified is neither complete from the Pauranic side, nor does it bring out the names of all the Pañchāla rulers. Originally 13 in the list, Brihaspatimitra, Varuṇamitra,¹¹⁴ Prajāpatimitra¹¹⁵ and Vaṅga-pāla¹¹⁶ are later additions. Agnimitra's name also appears in the list of rulers whose coins have been found at Kauśāmbī. But the usual three symbols on the obverse of the Pañchāla type are not noticed on the Kauśāmbī coins of this ruler.¹¹⁷ Are we then to presume that Agnimitra issued two types of

111. Rivett-Carnac—JASB. 1880 pp. 21-23; Jayaswal—JBORS. III (1917) pp. 476ff; Raychaudhuri—PHAI. 1923. pp. 211ff; Louis de la Vallé Poussin: *L' Inde aux Temps des Mauryas* pp. 175-76; See IHQ. VIII. p. 549ff, for all previous references. T. P. Bhattacharya also made an attempt to co-relate the kings bearing the title—*Mitra*, whose coins have been found in various places of Northern India. He did not adduce any new piece of evidence and the reshuffling of the data could not advance our knowledge on this point. (JBORS.-XXXV-(1949) pp. 47ff.).

112. *Indian coins*, p. 13.

113. op. cit. p. 479. •

114. JNSI. III. p. 79.

115. *ibid.*

116. *ibid.* IV. p. 18.

117. Allan. op. cit. p. 153.

coins—one for Pañchāla, and another for Kauśāmbī; and curiously not a single coin of this ruler was found at Vidisā, the Provincial seat, or at Pātaliputra, the capital of the Śuṅgas? We might, therefore, agree with Cunningham, whose views were endorsed by Allan, that Pañchāla rulers formed a separate local dynasty, as is evident from a uniform type of symbols found on the coins of all the rulers in this group.

The history of this dynasty is obscure, but its relations with the other families could be traced. It is proposed¹¹⁸ that Sonakāyaniputra Vaṅgapāla and his father Tevaniputra Bhāgavata who are both styled kings in the Pabhosa inscription, may have been from Pañchāla, with the former probably as a provincial governor under the Śuṅgas, and he became independent with the decline of the Śuṅga empire. The importance of Pañchāla can be evinced from Patañjali's¹¹⁹ reference to its division into two—north and east, with Ahichchatra as the capital of the former. Are we then to presume that the Pañchāla dynasty existed even during the period of the Śuṅgas and continued after their decline? It might have been subservient to Pātaliputra enjoying local autonomy with power to issue coins, but one is not certain for want of evidence.

Kauśāmbī: The kings of Kauśāmbī form a separate group, as is evident from the coins found there, the two Pabhosa records, and the Mora tablet inscription. The characteristic symbols on Kauśāmbī coins are a bull and a tree in railing. Coins bearing the names of the rulers, include those of Brihaspatimitra I, Parvata, Aśvaghosha, Brihaspatimitra II, Dhanadeva, Agnimitra and Jeṭhamitra.¹²⁰ As

118. CoHI. p. 106.

119. I.1.11. etc. I-2-51 etc. According to B.C. Law, the Pañchālas were definitely feudatories to the Śuṅgas. (Memoir ASI. No. 67 p. 9). Patañjali knew of eastern and northern Pañchāla hence it cannot be concluded that during the reign of Agnimitra, the state was, as of old, divided into two parts, each ruled over by a separate ruler (ibid. p. 27). The finding of a coin belonging to Vasusena, identified with Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra, is supposed to point to the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas over northern Pañchāla (JNSI. II. p. 16).

120. Allan. *op. cit.* pp. 148ff. The earlier coins of round cast pieces of purely Indian type free from any foreign influence have also been

regards Brihaspatimitra, his identity with Pushyamitra is out of question. An inscribed brick was found at Mora,¹²¹ seven miles west of Mathurā. It is likely that the two might be identical, thus pointing to matrimonial relations between the royal families of Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. The Pabhosa inscription¹²² mentions another Bahasatimitra whose maternal uncle excavated a cave. This ruler must be Bahaspatimitra or Brihaspatimitra II. The palaeography of the two inscriptions shows some difference.¹²³ This, however, points to matrimonial relation between Kauśāmbī and Ahichchatra. Rapson suggested¹²⁴ that king Brihaspatimitra II of Kauśāmbī was presumably a feudatory of the Śuṅga emperor Udāka mentioned in the Pabhosa record, but a feudatory could hardly be expected to issue coins. In the absence of any honorific title, Barua proposed¹²⁵ that it was just a place name. Another point worth consideration is with regard to the identification of Brihaspatimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins with Bahasatimitra of

found, but in the absence of any legend their historical importance is nil. The characteristic symbols of Kauśāmbī coins, common throughout the series, are a bull and a tree in railing.

121. JRAS.1912. p. 120. *Jñaputāye rājabhāryāye Brihasvatimitra (dhi) tu yasa mātāye kārītam.*

122. EI. II. p. 243.

123. The palaeography of the two records shows some difference, which is rather natural, for the Pabhosa record mentions dedication by the uncle, and the Mora one by the daughter, thus pointing to the posterior character of the latter. The palaeographic study, as pointed out by Allan (op. cit. xcvi), shows just the reverse; and one rightly draws the conclusion that the two Brihaspatimitras are not identical. It is further observed that the Brihaspatimitra of the inscribed coin, who may probably be placed in the first century B.C., is different from the one who issued the struck coins (Nos. 16-25 of Allan's *Catalogue*) which are fairly common. Apart from the striking differences in the fabric and type, the letters show signs of early character, as for example, the form of *m*, *s* and *k*. Fixing the chronology on the basis of style and palaeography, Allan places Aśvaghosha (No. 17) and Parvata (Nos. 16-16a) as the earliest rulers of Kauśāmbī. The coins of Brihaspatimitra II, Agnimitra and Jyeshthamitra form the next group, and are closely related. They may be dated from the end of the second to the first century B.C. Dhanadeva's coins represent the last stage in the Kauśāmbī group, and he may be placed in the first century A.D.

124. CHI p. 525.

125. IHQ. 1930 p. 23.

the Hāthīgumphā inscription, who was defeated by king Khāravela of Kāliṅga. The reading of the inscription on this point is rather doubtful. According to Allan,¹²⁶ the word in question '*bahu* (s...) *idita*' is very probably not a proper name, for the suggested reading of the preceding words as *Magadha cha rājānam* is extremely improbable philologically as well as palaeographically. The Kauśāmbī ruler belonged to a local dynasty and his realm did not extend to Magadha. So Bahasatimitra or Brihaspatimitra cannot be identified with the one supposed to be mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā record.

Coins bearing the names of a few other rulers from Kauśāmbī include those of Jyeshthamitra, Praushtamitra, Varuṇamitra and Pushpaśrī; Aśvaghosha and Pavata or Parvata. Varuṇamitra could be identified with the name-sake of a Kauśāmbī inscription of his son whose name is lost,¹²⁷ while Aśvaghosha's name figures in a short inscription on the piece of Aśokan pillar.¹²⁸ If the two could be identified then Sārnāth formed part of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī. The dates of these rulers are uncertain. They may have belonged to the post Śuṅga-Kāṇva period, when there was no strong centralised power in Northern India.

Mathurā: The classification of Mathurā coins have brought to light two dynasties, namely Hindu rulers whose period probably varied from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B.C., and the Śaka rulers who succeeded the former Hindu kings, and bore the title Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa. The Hindu kings are, however, distinguished from those with endings in *mitra*, or in *datta*. The former category of kings included¹²⁹ Brahmamitra, Dridhamitra, Sūryamitra, Vishṇumitra and Gomitra. It is, thus, given the name 'Mitra' dynasty. Details about these rulers are wanting, but they had matrimonial relations with the other

126. op. cit. p. xvciii.

127. (This Varunamitra of the coins is considered to be identical with Gotiputra Varunamitra of the Kauśāmbī inscription of his son whose name is lost). Ghosh. IC. I. p. 694-5.

128. EI. VIII. pp. 171-72; For coins of Aśvaghosha, see JNSI. VI. p. 14; JBORS. XX. p. cx.

129. Allan: op. cit. p. cx.

powers. Yaśomatī, the daughter of king Brahmaspatimitra of Kauśāmbī had married a king of Mathurā. The second dynasty consists of the following kings: Purushadatta, Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Śeshadatta and Bhavadatta. Nothing is known about them as well.¹³⁰ It is presumed by Rapson¹³¹ that the Mathurā rulers were also feudatories of the Śuṅgas, a view also endorsed by Allan.¹³² Their dependent status is, however, warranted by the minting of their coinage. They ruled at a time when the Śuṅga power had vanished.

The Śaka Kshatrapa series include two groups of rulers—the first one consisting of Kshatrapa Śivaghosha, Śivadatta, Hagāmasha, and Hagāna, and the second one includes the Mahākshatrapa, Rājuvula (Rājula) and his son Śoḍāsa with the same title whose several inscriptions¹³³ have been found. Mathurā was conquered by the Śakas about 75 B.C. and remained under foreign rule for more than a couple of centuries.¹³⁴ According to Allan,¹³⁵ the coins of Hindu kings of

130. Jayaswal described some of them as Nāgas, with little evidence to support his contention (*History of India* (AD 150-350) p. 12-13.

131. CHI. pp. 525-6.

132. op. cit. p. cxiii.

133. Cf the Mathurā Lion Capital (CII II(i) pp. 30ff. the Amohini tablet (EI II p. 199. no. 2); and the Jail mound inscriptions (ASR III p. 30). The Mora well inscription (Lüder's *Mathurā Inscriptions* No. 113 p. 154) clearly prove that Śoḍāsa was the son of Rājuvula—only the title, however, figures in the record. His name is mutilated. This is also confirmed by their coins. Those of Rājuvula have been found in the region from the Sultanpur district upto Nur mahal in the Jullandhar doab, and from Padhan between Etah and Shikohabad, and Sānkiśa in the Farrukhabad district of the Uttara Pradesh. (Allan—Op. cit. p. CXV). According to Marshall, stratification of finds at Taxila suggest that this ruler belonged to the beginning of the Christian era (ASI. An. Rep. 1914-15 p. 27).

134. Tarn has referred to the suzerainty of Menander over Mathurā (op. cit. pp. 227, 229), very probably on the discovery of Menander's coins in mint condition from that place. This piece of evidence does not warrant his assertion. The Śaka conquest of Mathurā may be dated in the last quarter of the first century A.D. (Co.H.I. p. 108). Patañjali refers to the Śakas and Yavanas living in Aryan settlements, though outside Āryāvarta. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed (IC-I. p. 275) that the Śakas, like the Yavanas, had established their power, if not in Āryāvarta proper, then certainly in North-West India by that time.

135. op. cit. cxvi.

Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the second to the middle of the first century B.C. The first group of Śaka Kshatrapas consisting of Sivadatta and Hagāmasha may be placed about 60-40 B.C. Some of them might be contemporaries at Mathurā, while Rājuvula ruled further north. He may be put in between the period 40-20 B.C. and Śoḍāsa in B.C. 20-10 or a little later.

Punjab: It has been suggested that Punjab was included in the empire of Pushyamitra Śuṅga but was lost to the Greeks under his successors. This is based on the account in the *Divyāvadāna*,¹³⁶ and the identification of the Sindhu in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* with the great Indus seems to confirm it. It cannot, however, be denied that Menander's occupation of Śākala or Sialkot was a great challenge to the Śuṅga rule in the Punjab, and this event may have happened any time in the last days of Pushyamitra, or in the time of his successors. The line of Euthydemus in east Punjab, and that of Eucratides in the west figure prominently in the political history of northern India during the first two centuries before the Christian era. It has been presumed by Tarn,¹³⁷ that Menander was governor or Viceroy for Demetrius of all the conquests south-eastward of the river Jhelum, and he assumed the title of king himself probably after the death of his overlord. The death of Demetrius and Apollodotus, and the return of Eucratides to Bactria, left him complete master of the position in India. The matrimonial alliance between him and Agathocleia, who later on acted as the regent of their son Strato I, confirmed Menander's claim to the throne.

136. Pushyamitra's attempt to destroy the famous monastery at Kukkuṭagrāma at Pātaliputra being foiled by divine roar, he marched at the head of a strong army on a mission of destroying stūpas and monasteries and killing Buddhist monks. At Śākala he is said to have announced a reward of one hundred dinaras for killing one monk. The general persecution of the Buddhists seems to be ruled out in view of the setting up of Buddhist monuments at Bhārhut and Sanchi. It is likely that Pushyamitra's patronage of the Brāhmins, and the revival of Brahmanical sacrifices might have alienated the sympathies and goodwill of the Buddhists. The extension of the Śuṅga arms as far as Punjab may be acceptable, although the occupation of the land off five rivers might have been a temporary phase. (For reference see No. 60).

137. op. cit. p. 167.

According to Przyluski,¹³⁸ Menander's empire extended from Mathurā in the east to Barygaza (Broach) in the south-west. This claim seems to have been based on the finds of coins and may not be acceptable in full, but it cannot be denied that this Indo-Greek ruler had carved out a substantial kingdom in north-west India. The names of his successors can be enumerated, since their coins have been found, namely Agathocleia, the mother and regent ruling on behalf of Strato I, the latter as an independent ruler, and later on ruling conjointly with his grandson Strato II whose date is fixed by Tarn in 100 B.C.¹³⁹ The encroachments of the other Indo-Greek house to the west made Menander's successors uncomfortable. Coins of Agathocleia and Strato, and others of Strato alone, and sometimes found restruck with the type of Heliocles¹⁴⁰ bearing the reverse type 'victory' suggest that the former gave way to the latter.

Eucratides, the hero of the other house, is supposed to have deposed Demetrius in 175 B.C., invaded the countries to the south of the Hindukush, and wrested from Demetrius and the princes of his house their dominions in the Kabul valley in Ariana (Arachosia and Aria) and in North-West India sometime before 162 B.C.¹⁴¹ Deprived of his possessions in Ariana by Mitradates I, he was slain shortly afterwards by his son Heliocles in c. 155 B.C. The history of this house can also be traced in coins. Its members ceased to rule in Bactria and they had to be satisfied with their Indian possessions only. Antialcidas of this family, whose name appears in the Besnagar record,¹⁴² established relations with the Śuṅga king at Vidisā by sending his ambassador Heliodorus. This inscription is helpful in fixing the probable date of this Greek

138. *L'Legende de Emperor Aśoka* p. 167.

139. op. cit. p. 226.

140. Gardner: *Catalogue*. Pl. VII.25 (*Catalogue of Coins of the Greeks etc. in the British Museum*).

141. This date has been fixed by Tarn. According to him, in about seven years Eucratides had disposed of at least four Euthydemid kings. It must have looked as though he would exterminate the race altogether, which may have been his intention; to him they were just rebels. (op. cit. p. 216).

142. Luder's List No. 669.

ruler of Taxila. Evidence from the coins is suggestive of the Yavanas paving the way for the Śakas after the reign of Archebius.¹⁴³ The Taxila copper plate inscription¹⁴⁴ refers to the conquest of the city by the Śaka king Maues who was reigning there in the year 78, probably of the era of 58-7 B.C.¹⁴⁵ The Śaka conquest dealt a blow to the rule of the Greeks.

Some of the Tribes: Among the tribes of political importance in that period whose coins have also been found, may be mentioned the Yaudheyas, the Ārjunāyanas, the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas and the Agastyas. Some of these are also mentioned by Patañjali. The Yaudheyas were the most important one with their country between the Sutlej and the Yamunā. They are mentioned by Pāṇini, and along with the Trigartas¹⁴⁶ (according to Scholiast) are referred to as forming an '*Āyuddha jīvī Saṅgha*' or a tribal republican organization depending mainly on arms. Unfortunately, Patañjali does not mention them. The finds of the Yaudheya coins from various sites¹⁴⁷ could suggest the extent of their territory, while the reference to their defeat at the hands of Rudradāman,¹⁴⁸ evidently point to their existence as a political power in the second century A.D. According to Allan,¹⁴⁹

143. CHI p. 559.

144. CII. II(i) pp. 23ff.

145. The question of the old era in which most of the Pre-Kushāna Kharoshthī records are dated, received the attention of several scholars. Sten Konow worked it out on the basis of intercalary months mentioned in some records, and kept on changing his views on this point (See JIH-XII-1933 p. 25; C.I.I. II(1) p. lxxv. and in Vogel's Volume. Lohuizen-de Leeuw noting the changes in Konow's views (*The Scythian period* pp. 18ff), however, suggested 136 B.C. For other views on this point, see *Comprehensive History of India*, pp. 195-96).

146. IV.I.178. The two are also mentioned together in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhā* XXXII.7) and the *Brihatsaṃhita* (XIV.25; XVI.20).

147. According to Cunningham, the coins were found all over the country (i.e. the Punjab) as far as Delhi and Ludhiana, (ASR.XIV. p. 140). Two large finds were made between Delhi and Karnal (*Coins of Ancient India* p. 76). They were also found plentifully in the country to the westward of the Jumna, (ASR. II. p. 14), in Depalpur, Satgarha, Ajudhan, Kahrora, and Multan, and to the eastward in Bhatnēr, Athor, Sirsa, Hansi, Panipat and Sonapat (AGI p. 245).

148. EI.VIII pp. 36 ff.

149. op. cit. p. cliii.

the coins of the Yaudheyas fall into three periods—classes 1, 2 and 5 of the second and first centuries B.C. indicate a period of independence from the fall of the Mauryas to the coming of the Kushāṇas to power.

The Ārjunāyanas are placed according to the *Brihatsamhita*¹⁵⁰ along with the Yaudheyas in the Northern division of India. They are not mentioned by Pāṇini or Patañjali. Their existence is also confirmed by the coins bearing the name Ārjunāyana known in several varieties. The legend *Ārjunāyanānāmjaya*—‘victory of the Ārjunāyānas’ is similar to the one on the coins of the Yaudheyas. The palaeography of the coin legends suggests a date about 100 B.C. The land of the Ārjunāyanas probably lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.¹⁵¹

Audumbaras: The Audumbaras issued several types of coins,¹⁵² the earliest ones were found in large number at Imphal in the Kangra district of the Punjab. They are free from foreign influence. The names of four kings occur on these pieces—Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva and Dhanaghosha. Mahādeva occurs also as a regal title on these coins. A silver coin with the additional title, *Bhāgavata* suggests the existence of Mahādeva as a ruler rather than a title. The Epigraphy of the letters points to the first century B.C. as their period. A rare coin of Dhanaghosha is modelled on the Graeco-Indian hemidrachm, and may be dated in the middle of the first century B.C.¹⁵³ Other coins, probably also of the Audumbaras inscribed in Brāhmī and Kharoshthī reveal the names of some kings ending in *mitra*. These are Āryamitra (Ajamita), Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra, and Mahābhūtimitra. From the find spots of their coins, the Audumbaras are located in the area formed by the eastern part of modern Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts between the upper Sutlej and Ravi.

Kuṇindas: The coins of the Kuṇindas fall into two main groups, one issued about the end of the first century B.C.,

150. XIV.25; IA.XXII. p. 173.

151. Allan. op. cit. pp. lxxxiii ff.

152. Ibid.

153. Co.HI. p. 135.

and the other about three centuries later.¹⁵⁴ The former bears the name of Amoghabhūti while the latter one is anonymous with the title of Śiva only. It is suggested¹⁵⁵ that Amoghabhūti was an Indian chief who founded a short-lived kingdom at the close of the period of Greek dominion in the Punjab in the last half of the first century A.D., which was swept away by the Śakas. According to Cunningham,¹⁵⁶ the Kuṇinda coins were found mainly between Ambala and Saharanpur. They probably occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Sivalik hills between the Yamuna and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and Sutlej.¹⁵⁷

There might have been a few more minor states like that of the Agastyas¹⁵⁸ adjacent to the Yaudheya republic of Rohtak and situated to the west of it. The name of the ruling tribe as given on the coins is Agacha (Skt Agastya). Disintegration of the Śuṅga empire facilitated the emergence of small powers, scattered here and there, as independent kingdoms.

The Andhras: According to the Purāṇas, after the Śuṅgabhrityakāṇvāyana, the earth was to pass on to the Andhras.¹⁵⁹ The Andhra Simukha with his fellow tribes men, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyana and destroy the remains of the Śuṅga power, and obtain this earth. The Andhras, also known as Sātavāhanas¹⁶⁰ in records, endured

154. Allan: op. cit. p. cl.

155. *ibid.* p. cl. K. P. Jayaswal supposed it to be an official title, taking the coins to be anonymous (*Hindu Polity* p. 82n). This is not acceptable since the word for king occurs not once but twice in it. (Allan: *ibid.*)

156. CAI. p. 71.

157. Allan. op. cit. cii.

158. Co.H.I. p. 111 (CCAI. p. civii; Barnett: BSOS X; IHQ. XVII p. 198; JNSI p. 51).

159. *Kāṇvāyanāms tato bhrityāḥ Suśarmāṇaḥ, tam Śuṅgānām chaiva yach chhesnam kshapitvā tu baliyasah, Śisukho'ndhrah sa jātiyah prāpsyatīmām vasundharām, traya-viṃśat samā rājā Śimukas tu bhaviṣhyati.* Pargiter: DKA. pp. 38 & 71.

160. Sukhtankar and Raychaudhuri question Andhra affinities of the Sātavāhanas. The latter proposed that the Purāṇas were redacted at a time when the Sātavāhanas were ruling over the Andhradeśa mistakenly

for an unbroken maximum period of 460 years according to the *Matsya*, and a minimum of 300 years, according to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. The starting point of this dynasty, working on the contemporaneity and double defeat of Śātakarṇi mentioned in the Junar inscription at the beginning of Śiva Siripulumāvi's seven year reign is placed about 235 B.C.¹⁶¹ This date would not be in conformity with the Pauranic evidence recalling the murder of the last Kāṇva ruler by the first Andhra king which took place in c 28 B.C. Barnett suggested¹⁶² that after the death of Aśoka, the Mauryan empire rapidly declined and the neighbouring rulers were left free to indulge in their ambitious designs and enlarging their boundaries.

called the Andhras (PHAI. pp. 403ff). But the last three ruled not only Andhradeśa but also parts of Western Deccan. (Co. H.I p. 298n). The original home of the Andhras has been a subject of disputation among scholars. Srinivas Aiyangar suggested (IA.1913. pp. 276ff) that the Andhras were associated with the Telgu country only at a later date, as they are assigned to the Vindhya region in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, in the inscriptions of Aśoka, as well as in the *Harshacharita*. The finds of the early Andhra coins in the western part of India, and a reference to them in the inscription of Khāravela point to their rule in the south-west, rather than in the Andhra region. Sukhatankar editing an inscription of Siripulumāvi, king of the Śātavāhanas, identified a place called Śātavāhamāhāra with one of the same name occurring in the Hira-Hadagalli copper plate inscription, though in a slightly altered form (*Satahamrattha*), and assigned Bellary district, as the original home of Śātavāhanas (EI. XIV. p. 153). Raychaudhuri further suggested that the Andhra was probably meant for the Śātavāhana kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and remained a purely Andhra power, governing the territory at the north of the river Krishna (*Op. cit.*) Barnett located the original home of the Andhras in the Telingana district along the eastern coast between the deltas of the rivers Godavari and Krishnā together with as much of the Circars as they could hold against the rival kingdoms of Kalinga in the north. (CHI. p. 599). It appears probable that the exact limit of their territory probably varied from time to time and so also their capital.

161. Co. H. I. p. 295. According to Bose, the beginning of the Andhra rule may be fixed near about 230 B.C. which would be the time of Simukha making Andhras the contemporaries of the later Mauryas, the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas. In suggesting this early date, he doubts the truth of the Pauranic reference to the murder of the last Kāṇva ruler by the first Andhra King which took place in c 28 B.C.

162. *op. cit.*

Among these was a certain person Simukha, who within the last quarter of the third century B.C. established the powerful Sātavāhana or Sātakaṇi dynasty which ruled over the Telugu country for five centuries.

The epigraphic records which might be considered here are the Hāthīgumphā inscription of King Khāravela,¹⁶³ the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāyanikā,¹⁶⁴ and Sāñchī record of Rājan Siri-Sātakaṇi.¹⁶⁵ The date of the record of Khāravela on palaeographic grounds has to be brought down to the first century B.C. That would place the Sātakaṇi of this record whom Khāravela ignored as a contemporary strong power in the first century B.C. The Sātakaṇi of the Sāñchī record was identified by Cunningham with the third Andhra king. The date and character of this inscription as well as of others on the Sāñchī gateway, are almost identical with those of the Nānāghāt inscriptions. Perusing the Pauranic evidence,¹⁶⁶ we find in the description of the dynasties of Vidiśā, that after the destruction of the Śuṅgas, Sisunandi, his younger brother Nandiyasas and three others would become rulers there. His daughter's son Śisukha became king of Purikā (at some unspecified time). The name Śisukha may have been wrongly spelt for Śimukha, the founder of the Andhra dynasty. If the two could be identified, one might agree with Raychaudhuri¹⁶⁷ that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Śimukha annexed Purikā and placed Vidiśā under his maternal relations. This conjecture agrees with the date of the beginning of the Andhra rule. The defeated Śuṅga prince may have been Viśvamitra of the Besnagar seal.¹⁶⁸ Śisunandi mentioned in the list may be identified with Rājan Svāmin Śivanandi whose seal was found at Pawaya. The history of the Andhras need not be considered here as it is outside the purview of our study.

A complete picture of the political condition — taking into account the period and rule of the Śuṅgas-Kāṇvas, the Indo-

163. op. cit.

164. Luder's List No. 1114.

165. EI. II. p. 88.

166. DKA. p. 49.

167. Op. cit. p. 272.

168. ASI. An. Rep. 1915-16, p. 16.

Greeks and certain minor states in northern India, the Meghāvāhana ruler Khāravēla of Kālīṅga and lastly, the early Andhras, is just portrayed in proper perspective. Factors responsible for the disintegration of the Mauryan empire within less than fifty years after the death of the Aśoka, the attempt of Pushyamitra Śuṅga to integrate the loose political fabrics; the expanding tide of the Greeks—no doubt checked in the time of the Brāhmin senāpati, and the ambitious attitude of Khāravēla of Kālīṅga who comes much later in the first century B.C., rather than in the last quarter of the second century B.C. as a contemporary of Pushyamitra, are all taken into proper consideration. The evidence relating to this period is rather scanty, and, as the late Professor Rapson suggested more than forty years back, in our attempt to reconstruct the mosaic of ancient Indian history from the few pieces which have as yet been found, we can do little more than define the limits of possible hypothesis in this instance. The position, despite the passage of time, has not much improved. We have still to wait for adequate material ere we properly reconstruct a detailed history of Northern India from the second century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era.

CHAPTER III

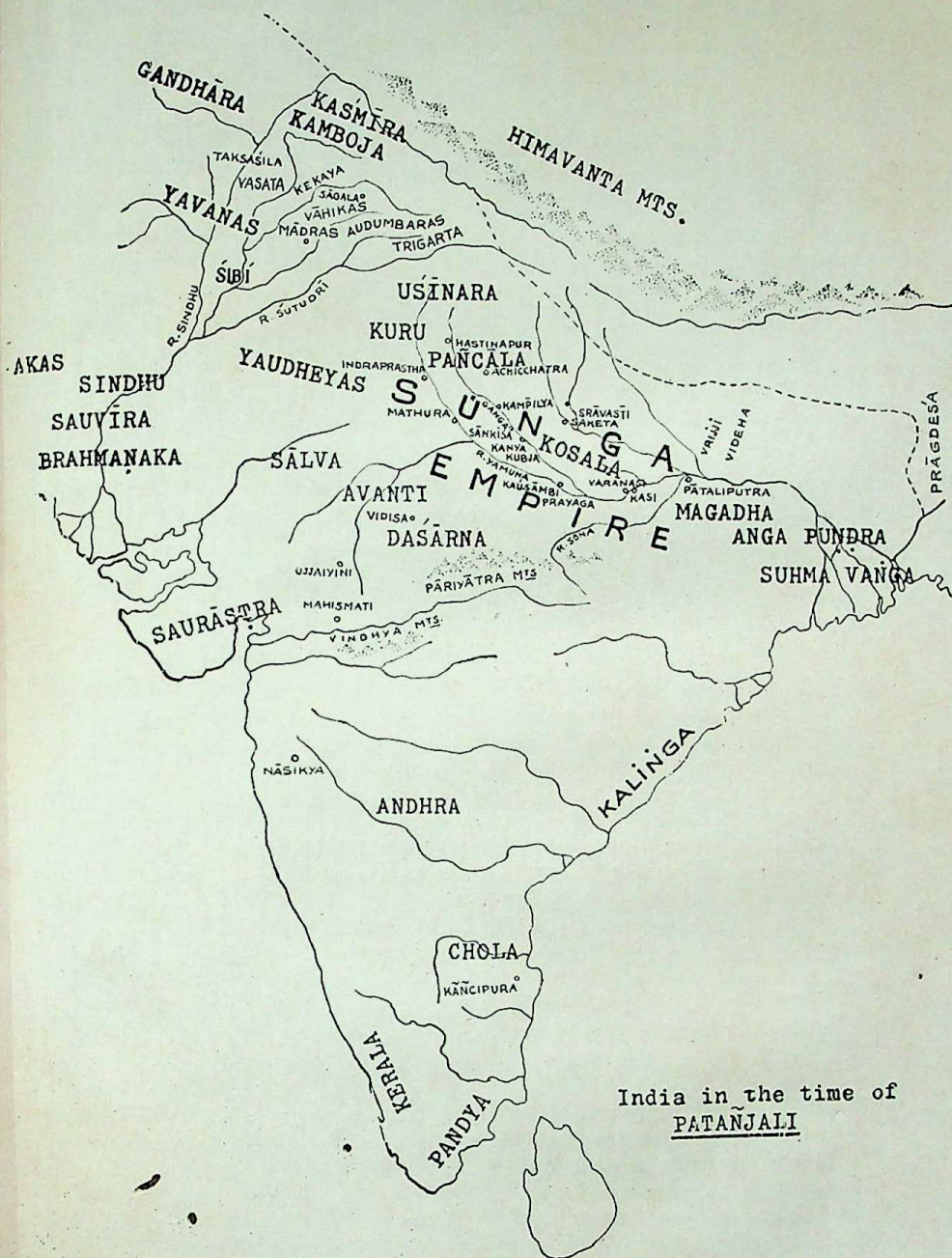
GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

The Geographical information from the *Mahābhāshya* may not be as exhaustive as we find in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, it is nevertheless copious enough to give a general idea of the country and its people as known to Patañjali. The Bhāshyakāra mostly refers to places in the Āryavārta, with its well-defined boundaries, but he does not seem to be ignorant of the settlements of the Yavanas,¹ the Janapadas of the North-west—those of the Gandhāra, Kamboja and Kaśmīra, the kingdoms in the South of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas, and the more familiar ones in the East—Aṅga, Magadha, Kāliṅga and Prāgdeśa. The land of the Pañchanadas, Sindhu, Sauvīra, and Saurāshtra are also mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*.² He verifies a good many names mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha*,³ and also adduces additional details wherever necessary. The *Chāturārthika*

1. II.4.10. pp. 4-5. The Yavana country is also mentioned in the Vārttika on Pāṇini. IV.1.175. It is difficult to determine the exact situation of the Yavana country (Bhandarkar: *Carmichael Lectures*. 1921. p. 26; Raychaudhuri. *PHAI*, 4th ed. p. 253). It appears that it (the Yavana country) had never a uniform country. The Pre-Alexander (better Ionian) colony was also a Yavana one. In Patañjali's time the Yavanas had come closer to the land of the Śiṣṭhas. Living in Aryan villages and hamlets outside Āryavārta, they were not ostracized and they enjoyed the privilege of using a plate without polluting it. (Kielhorn—ed. I. p. 475). The Yavanas are mentioned in Aśokan inscriptions. (RE. XIII).

2. This evidently shows that Patañjali's geographical horizon was not necessarily confined to mid-India—the land of the élite Brahmins in whom he was definitely interested. These would be considered with fuller references later on in this chapter.

3. The value of Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*—as a supplement to the information from Pāṇini's work—is evinced from the following stray pieces of evidence. The Bhāshyakāra provides the full list of the member states in the Sālva Janapada (IV.1.168. p. 269), the names of Janapadas referred to under IV.1.172—which points to the use of affix *nya* after the word 'kuru' and a word beginning with *na*, when these words denote a country, being the name of a kshatriya tribe also. (Kielhorn II p. 269). He also provides the correct reading of the five names in the Rājanyādi group—Vasāti, Devayāta, Bailavavana, Ambarishaputra, and Ātmakameya. (IV.2.52. p. 282).



Sūtras—IV.2.67-70 of Pāṇini which explain the significance of names of places where a thing was found, or the place itself was founded by such and such a person or community, or if it was the dwelling place of such and such a person, and lastly the location of the place as nearer to a known object, are considered by Patañjali. He does not comment in detail on the *Nivāsa* and *Abhijana* sūtras⁴ formulated by Pāṇini which suggest that the first word in construction should signify a dwelling place, or where some one's ancestors lived; certain other sūtras of Pāṇini (IV.2.130-45) mentioning geographical names also did not engage his attention. This deficiency is partly made up by the Bhāshyakāra's reference to the ethnic distribution of particular areas under the *Vishaya-sūtra* (*Vishayodeśe*),⁵ and by preserving the broad division of the Janapadas⁶ as suggested by Pāṇini—namely, Janapadas under monarchy (*ekarāja*) and tribes organized as *āyuddha-jīvi saṅgha*. In this connection, the classification of place names based on linguistic principles, earlier made by Pāṇini, is retained by Patañjali.

Conception of the country: Patañjali, no doubt, refers to the Udīchya and Prāchya divisions of the country with a number of janapadas associated with those parts, but he is more particular about Āryāvarta, the land of the Śiṣṭhas. Its boundaries, as given by him, cover the region south of the Himalayas, east of Ādarśa, and west of Kālakavana.⁷ The southern limit, Pāriyātra,⁸ according to earlier investigations,⁹

4. IV.3.89-90 p. 314.

5. IV.2.52. p. 282.

6. IV.1.168. pp. 268ff.

7. II.4.10 p. 475. *Prag=adarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam attayena pāriyātram*. The position of Kālakavana is fairly certain. According to Dey, it should be identified with the Rajmahal hills in the province of Bihar (*Geographical Dictionary* p. 84). According to Chakladhar, like other points, the one marking the eastern limits of Āryāvarta, would correspond to the eastern point of Manu's Madhyadeśa viz. Prayāga (IHQ.IV. p. 93). He identifies Kālakavana with the Kālākāra of the Buddhist texts (*Ang. Nikāya* ii.24) representing the outskirts of Sāketa, and regards the Āryāvarta of Vasishṭha and Baudhāyana as exactly conterminous with the Madhyadeśa of Manu.

8. According to Pargiter, this is the western portion of the modern Vindhya Range, west of Bhopal (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Trans.) p. 286n).

is the western part of the Vindhya range extending from the source of the Chambal to the Gulf of Cambay, but R. G. Bhandarkar took¹⁰ it to be that portion of the Vindhyan range from which the rivers Chambal and Betwa take their rise. The Bhasyakāra's definition of its eastern and western limits meets with some difference in the Smritis of Manu, Vasishṭha and Baudhāyana. Ādarśa, the western limit, is supposed to be identical with Ādarśana or Vinaśana which the *Kāśikā* takes¹¹ in the sense of a janapada. Vasishṭha has referred¹² to the limits of Āryāvarta both according to his views and that of others. He confines it to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī disappears, the west of the Black forest (Kālakavana), to the north of Pāripātra, and to the south of the Himālaya. Bühler has compared¹³ the boundaries of Āryāvarta, as suggested by the Smritikāra with those mentioned by Patañjali.

Patañjali's Geographical vision, however, extends much beyond Āryāvarta—both in the west and in the east. References to far off places in the north-west, such as Balkh (Bāhlāyana),¹⁴ Kamboja,¹⁵ Kaśmīra¹⁶ and Gandhāra,¹⁷ Aṅga, Vaṅga¹⁸ and Kalinga¹⁹ in the east and Pāṇḍya, Choḍa, Kaṣera and Kerala²⁰ in the south—not traced in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, are suggestive of his broader perspective. Western India was also known to him, as he refers to Sindhu and Sauvīra.²¹ The Bhasyakāra might not have visited places at considerable

Cunningham traced its survival in the Pathar range lying between the rivers Chambal and Banas (ASR.VI. p. 1 & map; XIV. p. 151).

9. *Asiatic Researches* VIII. p. 338.

10. *Early History of the Deccan* (Collected works).

11. IV.2.124 p. 381 (Benares Ed.) *Ādarśakah janapādāvadheḥ khav-*
aṇi.

12. I-8.

13. SBE.XIV. p. 2.

14. IV.2.99. p. 292.2.

15. I.1.1. p. 9. 26.

16. III.2.114. p. 119.9.

17. IV.2.52 p. 283.10.

18. IV.1.170 p. 299.16-17.

19. III.2.115. 26.

20. IV.1.175. p. 270.3.

21. IV.1.170 p. 299.17.

distance from his native place. Particular mention might be made of the term *sarasi*,²² used by him to denote lakes in the Deccan. He has not, however, referred to the shape of the country and its contour.

Physical Geography: The study of this aspect of geography is confined to mountains, rivers, and forests. There are many references²³ in the *Mahābhāṣhya* to Himavat Parvat. One also finds his comment on the glacier Himānī²⁴ and the melting of snow (*himaśratha*),²⁵ noticed earlier by Pāṇini²⁶ as well. The Bhāṣhyakāra also refers to a low land in the sense of a valley (*upatyakā*) and a table land (*adhiyakā*)²⁷ in different comments. The mountains, besides Himavat, traced in the *Mahābhāṣhya*, are Pāriyatra²⁸ and Krauñcha.²⁹ The former is mentioned as indicative of the southern boundary of Āryāvarta. The context in which Krauñcha figures in the *Mahābhāṣhya*, shows that it is used for a bird (*Pakshī*)—the son of a curlew after the affix *an* in forming the patronymic from *krauñcha*. The formations of the names of the mountains are not noticed in the *Mahābhāṣhya*, nor is the important *sūtra* (IV-3-91), referring to the settlements of the hill tribe commented upon by Patañjali.

The Bhāṣhyakāra does not refer to many forests. There are references only to *Khāndava*³⁰ and *Bailvavana*³¹ which are not noticed by Pāṇini. The former, according to the *Mahābhārata*³² was situated on a river called Aśvarathā, while the

22. I.1.19. p. 73.5.

23. I.1.57. p. 150. 23; I.1.72, p. 184: 20 etc.

24. IV.1.49 p. 20.15.

25. I.1.14. p. 51.22.

26. IV.1.49; IV.4.29.

27. VII.3.45. p. 325.5.

28. III.4.10. p. 475.3. For a note on it see No. 7.

29. IV.1.120. p. 258.12; Krauñcha also denoted a part of the Himālaya range, situated in the eastern part of the chain to the north of Assam. According to the *Vādyu Purāṇa*, it is said to have been split by Kārttikeya (72.47).

30. VIII.1.4. p. 364.23.

31. III.1.1. p. 3.13.

32. *Vanaparva* chap. 169—L. 11681.

*Padma Purāṇa*³³ locates it near the banks of Yamunā with *Indraprastha* as part of it.

Rivers: The rivers of the extreme north west part of ancient India including Afghanistan are not noticed by Patañjali, as for example he does not mention the river Suvāstu, mentioned earlier by Pāṇini.³⁴ In his comment on the *sūtra Oraṇ*, illustrating the use of the affix *an* after a stem ending in *u* or *ū* in the sense of *chāturāthika sūtras*, the Bhāṣhyakāra mentions by way of illustration, Maśakāvati and Udumbarāvati,³⁵ Ikshumati and Drumati. Maśakāvati seems to have given name to Massaga or Massaka, flowing past that city with its warlike people who had a rough deal from Alexander. Dey identified³⁶ it with *Mazaga* or Massanagar twenty-four miles from Bajaur on the river Swat in the Yusufzai country. Earlier Rennel had identified³⁷ it with the Massaga of Alexander's historians. The *Kāśikā* mentions³⁸ this river along with Udumbarāvati, in comment on the *sūtra nadyām matuḥ*, which enjoins the adding of the affix *matuḥ* (*mat* and *vat*) when the name of a river is to be designated by something found near it. Udumbara was associated with the Audumbaras—whose coins have been found in the Kangra district.³⁹ It may be identified with a small tributary joining the river Beas near Gurdaspur.⁴⁰ Ikshumati was noted for the sugar canes grown near its bank. It has been identified with a tributary of the Ganges, referred to as oxymagis by Arrian and oxymatis by Megasthenes.⁴¹ It is now known as Ikhan (also Kālindi) flowing through the Farrukhabad district.⁴² The last in the series Drumati cannot be identified.

33. *Uttara* chap. 64.

34. IV.2.77.

35. IV.2.71. p. 287.15.

36. *Geographical Dictionary* (henceforth GD.) p. 127.

37. *ibid.*

38. IV.2.85—other references in the *Kāśikā* are Udumbaravati, Virnāvati, Pushkarāvati, Ikshumati and Drumati.

39. Cunningham: CAI. pp. 66-67. The *Harivamsa* mentions (Chap. 8.167. L. 9511) along with the rivers of the south.

40. *Imperial Gazetteer of India—Atlas* Vol. XXVI.

41. McCrindle—*Ancient India in Megasthenes & Arrian*—note on oxymagis cf. my *India in Classical Greek Writings* p. 48n.

42. Agarwal—*India as known to Pāṇini* (henceforth-Agarwala-Pāṇini. 2nd ed. p. 44).

Patañjali refers to *Pañchananda* which is to be taken in the sense of the country of five rivers (*pañchānām nadinām samāhāraḥ pañchanadam*),⁴³ but he mentions only *Sutudrī*,⁴⁴ a tributary of the river Indus (Sindhu)⁴⁵ along with Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī. Other rivers noticed by Bhāshyakāra are Ikshumatī and Drumatī,⁴⁶ Yavamatī,⁴⁷ Dāvikā,⁴⁸ Gomatī⁴⁹ and Rathaspā.⁵⁰ Ikshumatī is noted for sugar cane plants growing near its bed. Dey identified⁵¹ it with the river Kālī. Davikā is mentioned earlier by Pāṇini and Patañjali associates a particular kind of rice growing near its bank. It was called *Dāvikā kṛlāḥ sālayaḥ*.⁵² It was identified with Pargiter⁵³ with the river Deeg, a tributary of the Rāvi on its right bank, but according to B. C. Law⁵⁴ citing *Vishnudharmot-tara* (I. 161. 153 and *Nilamata Purānas*, this river flowed through the Mādra country. Rathapsā is mentioned earlier in the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*⁵⁵ and in the 'Ādi Parva' of the *Mahā-bhārata*.⁵⁶ It is one of the seven sacred rivers between the Sarasvatī and Gandakī, and is identified by Dey⁵⁷ with the river Rāptī in Avadha. Gomatī might be that tributary of the river Ganges which passes through Lucknow.

Political Geography : Patañjali seems to be more exhaus-

43. IV.1.88 p. 239.5.6.

44. I.2.32 p. 209.10.

45. I.1.1. p. 427.29.

46. IV.2.71 p. 287.16.

47. V.2.94 p. 394.6.

48. VII.3.1 p. 316.4.

49. I.1.62 p. 161.13.

50. VII.1.157. p. 96.17.

51. GD. p. 77.

52. VII.3.9. p. 316.4.

53. *Mark. Pur.* (Eng. Trans.) p. 92.

54. *Geographical Essays.* p. 92.

55. Caland, *Extracts* 204.

56. Ch. 170. L. 6455.

57. op. cit. p. 168. According to V. S. Agrawala, it was a river in Pañchāla and the name may correspond to Rhodopha, mentioned by Greek writers as marking an important stage on the royal road. (Although it is called a town, but the mention of the stages generally between two well-known rivers, as Jhelum and Beas, Sutlej and Yamunā suggests its having been the name of a river (Megasthenes. Frag. LVI; quoted in op. cit. p. 47).

tive than Pāṇini in his reference to the political divisions and the list of the Janapadas. He refers to kingdoms in the north-west, and those in the south. The latter do not figure in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*. The Janapadas were homogenous political, cultural and geographical units, known from early times. Many such janapadas mentioned in early Buddhist work, and existing in the time of the Buddha continue to figure in this period. Politically some of these lost their existence, as for example the Bhāshyakāra refers to Kāśī and Kośala besides Magadha and Janapadas in the Āryāvarta, but these must have formed part of the Śunga empire. The reference, therefore, is to their geographical importance. We propose considering these Janapadas in order of their location from north-west to east, and then those in the south.

Kamboja: This Janapada, in the extreme north-west is referred to both by Pāṇini⁵⁸ and Patāñjali.⁵⁹ The term is applied to the king of the country as well to the Kshatriya tribe settled in that Janapada. As a people, the Kambojas are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*.⁶⁰ Their connection with the Mādras, probably the Uttara Mādras, is speculated from the reference to Kamboja Aupamanyava, pupil of Madragāra.⁶¹ The location of this Janapada and its capital has been a subject of speculation. Ray Chaudhuri suggested⁶² that the Kamboja Janapada lay in the region of Rajauri or Rajpur with its boundary extending as far as Kafirstan in the west. The *Mahābhārata* mentions⁶³ a place called Rājapura as the home of the Kambojas.

Kaśmīra: Its existence as a separate political unit is evident from the *Mahābhāshya*⁶⁴ mentioning the queen of Kaśmīra (*Kaśmīra rājñī*). Its exact boundaries cannot be

58. IV.1.175.

59. I.1.1. p. 9.26.

60. II.2. Yāska notes the peculiarity of Kamboja speech. According to Kauṭilya the country of the Kambojas was noted for a particular breed of horses. (*Trans.* p. 148).

61. *Vedic Index*. I. p. 138.

62. PHAI (3rd ed.) p. 105.

63. VII. Chap. 4.19. According to Rhys-Davids, its capital was Kamboja (*Buddhist India*) which has been identified by Moti Chand with Darwaz in the Pamir Badakshan region (JUPHS. XVI. (11) pp. 38-46.)

64. IV.1.1. p. 193.18; Pāṇini's reference — IV.1.178.

defined which seem to have varied in different periods. According to a Jātaka,⁶⁵ it was included in the kingdom of Gāndhāra.

Gāndhāra : Patañjali mentions Gāndhāra,⁶⁶ and not the other form Ganadhāra. The people of this region Gāndhāra, are mentioned even in the period of the *Rigveda*.⁶⁷ According to Zimmer, their settlement was on the south bank of the Kubhā upto its confluence with the Indus, and to a certain extent to the east of the Indus itself.⁶⁸ Pāṇini mentions both the Vedic form Gāndhārī as the name of the Janapada and its people.⁶⁹ There is no reference to its capital Takshaśilā.

Kekaya : The word Kaikeya⁷⁰ suggests the people of the Kekaya Janapada. They were famous during the period of the Epics, and their territory, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁷¹ lay beyond the river Vidisā (Beas), and extended upto the borders of ancient Gandhāra.

Sālva : This Janapada was both ancient and vast.⁷² Its people are mentioned in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.⁷³ A later reference from the *Mahābhārata*⁷⁴ suggests their association with the Kuru-Pāñchālas on the banks of the Yamunā. Pāṇini mentions Sālva (VI.2.135), Sālveya (IV.1.169), and Sālvāyava (IV.1.173) as three distinct Janapada units of a monarchical character. The latter two must have bifurcated from the parent one which alone Patañjali mentions. The

65. No. 406. Another Jātaka, however, denies it (III.365). Kāśmīra's geographical position in the Uttarāpatha remains unassailed. Rājasekhara places it in that region (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p. 8). It comprised the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi.

66. IV.2.52. p. 282.10.

67. I.26.7.

68. *Vedic Index*. I. p. 219.

69. IV.1.109.

70. I.1.57 p. 149.8.

71. *Mah.* II.48, 13; Cunningham identified the capital of the Kekaya with Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum (*Ancient Geography of India* (AGI.) p. 188). Rājasekhara places the Kekaya country in the northern division along with the Śakas, Hūṇas, Kambojas, Vāhlīkas and others.

72. Patañjali — IV.2.133 p. 300.10. Sālva is mentioned in pair with Matsya, in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (1-29) and also in the *Mahābhārata* (*Bhishmaparva* 10.3).

73. X.4.1.10.

74. VI. Chap. 9.346.

*Kāśikā*⁷⁵ includes the Udumbaras and the Bodhas, referred to by Patañjali and belonging to the Kshatriya gotra, in the Sālva group. According to Pargiter,⁷⁶ the Sālveyas, originally connected with the Sālvas, are to be placed to the west of the Aravali hills.

Udumbara & Bodha: Both are mentioned together by Patañjali.⁷⁷ The former can easily be identified with the Audumbaras whose coins, found in the Kangra and Hoshiarpur districts settle their territory.⁷⁸ Udumbarāvati is mentioned by the Bhāshyakāra⁷⁹ which seems to have flowed through their country, and hence was so named. The Bodha country might have been somewhere in east Punjab adjoining that of the Udumbara.

Dārva: This term is also suggestive of the king as well as of the son of the country Dārva.⁸⁰ It is compounded with Abhisāra in the *Mahābhārata*,⁸¹ and, according to Aurel Stein,⁸² included the tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Jhelum and the Chenab. According to some scholars, it roughly corresponded to the Poonch and Naoshera districts.⁸³ Pargiter associated⁸⁴ them with the Trigartas, and Daradas and other tribes in the north-east Punjab.

Vasāta: Patañjali mentions⁸⁵ this Janapada in close association with Gandhāra and Śivi, thereby suggesting its contiguity to these two states. The *Mahābhārata*⁸⁶ refers to the king of Vasātis who was killed by Abhimanyu. McCrindle on the authority of Hemachandra's *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* placed it between the Indus and the Jhelum.⁸⁷

75. p. 136. (Patañjali's reference to the Bodhas — II.4.58 p. 489.3).

76. JRAS. 1908 p. 325.

77. II.4.58 p. 489.3-4.

78. Allan — op. cit. p. lxxxiii.

79. op. cit.

80. IV.1.170 p. 269.17.

81. VII.93.43.

82. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*-I. p. 32. II. p. 432.

83. B.C. Law — *Historical Geography* (HG. p. 74).

84. *Mark. Pur.* (Trans.) p. 324; Lassen placed the Dārvas between the Indus and Jhelum in the north-west of Kashmir (ibid).

85. IV.2.52 p. 282.17.

86. VII.49.1934.

87. *The Invasion of Alexander the Great* p. 150n. Agarwala identi-

Sindhu-Sauvira : These two are generally associated together. Sindhu is the name of the famous river Indus, and it is also the appellation of a political unit.⁸⁸ Earlier it was also the name of the satrapy of the Achaemenian emperor Darius.⁸⁹ It comprised the upper Indus. Sauvira is mentioned by Pāṇini.⁹⁰ According to Rapson,⁹¹ the two parts of the compound are often used separately, as names having nearly the same meaning, representing the modern province of Sindh.

Vāhika : It is distinguished by Patañjali from Vāhika-grāma,⁹² though the latter is included in the Vāhika country. It may be identified with Bāhika, referred to in earlier literature,⁹³ denoting the people of Punjab and the Indus. The Bāhikas, synonymous with Vāhikas, were different from the Vāhlikas or Vālhikas, and, according to the *Kaṇva-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*,⁹⁴ they lived between the Sutlej and the Indus, with their capital at Śākala. Patañjali mentions Śākala as a Vāhika-grāma.⁹⁵

fied it with Ossadioi (& op. cit. p. 37). Under *Rājanyagaya Vasāti, Devatā, Bailavana, Āmbarishaputra* and *Ātmakāmeya* go back to the time of Pāṇini (IV.2.52). (See also *Mahābhāshya* — Kielhorn — Vol. II, p. 282).

88. VII.1.39. p. 257.2. They are mentioned together in inscriptions (EI. VIII. p. 36) and literature (*Mhb.* VI.9.L. 361).

89. CHI. I. p. 334.

90. IV.1.148. The *Sūtrakāra* also gives a valuable social history of the region, the home of many gotras. He mentions Śarkara or Śarkara (modern Sukkar) as a town (IV.2.83).

91. *Ancient India* p. 168. Johnston in a note on 'Demetrius in Sindh' pointed out that it was quite clear from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (ii. 30, 32-3) that Sindhu and Sauvira were different countries. They occupied much of the Indus valley from the sea-coast upwards. Their separate and distinctive character is evident from the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman. According to a Jātaka (III. p. 280), Roruka or Roruva, identified with modern Rori or Alor was the capital of this Janapada.

92. IV.2.104. p. 293.20.

93. *Sata. Brāh.* I.7.38; Pāṇini mentions Udichya towns among the Vāhika country (IV.2.117). He also mentions the *Vāhika saṅghas* (V.3.114) — some dominated by Brāhmaṇas as ruling caste (*Gopālavas*), others by Rājanyas, and called Rajanaka (IV.2.53).

94. VIII. chap. 43. 20.30.

95. IV.1.185, p. 236.20, 22. They are also equated with *Jarttikās*

Madra: This Janapada, according to the *Mahābhārata*,⁹⁶ was included in the Vāhika country with its territory centering round Śakala or Sialkot, and the surrounding region between the Rāvi and the Chenab⁹⁷ or between the Jhelum and the Rāvi.⁹⁸ They seem to have occupied the central portion of the Punjab. The Mādras were an ancient kshatriya tribe and were associated with the Yaudheyas, as is evident from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.⁹⁹ Unfortunately their coins have not been found so far.

Uśinara: The country of the Uśinaras formed part of the Vāhikadeśa.¹⁰⁰ It is mentioned earlier by Pāṇini.¹⁰¹ Regarded as northerners, they are placed in the north-west, but there is no reason to shift them farther west than the middle country.¹⁰²

Sibi: The Sibi country, called Śaivaḥ in the *Mahābhāshya*,¹⁰³ was a fairly old Janapada. Its people are mentioned in the *Rigveda*¹⁰⁴ along with other minor tribes, and are noticed by Pāṇini¹⁰⁵ and also by Alexander's historians.¹⁰⁶ The latter locate these people between the Indus and the Akesines. According to Vogel, Sibipur mentioned in a Shorkot inscription must be the site of their capital.¹⁰⁷

and Āraṭṭas (*Karna Parva* 44.2032-2033). Pāṇini mentions Vāhika villages and those situated in Uśinara (IV.2.117-8) which, according to Pargiter, were confined to the Punjab (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 119).

96. VIII. chap. 45. L.2079.

97. CHI. Vol. I. p. 549.

98. Cunningham—AGI (1871) p. 185.

99. CII. III.

100. II.4.19. p. 477.15.—According to the *Kāśikā* commentary—*Uśinareshu ye Vāhikagrāmah* p. 320.

101. II.4.20; IV.2.118.

102. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* regards them as northerners (II.1). See Macdonell & Keith—*Vedic Index* I, p. 103.

103. IV.2.52 p. 282.11.

104. VII.18.7.

105. IV.2.109.

106. Arrian: *Indika* V.12.

107. El.XX. p. 16. According to a Jātaka, (Fausboll. IV. p. 401), Aritthapura was the capital of the Śivi kingdom. Ptolemy refers to Aristobothra in the north of Punjab. It is identified with Dvārāvati (Dey—GD. p. 11).

Ambashṭa: It is mentioned earlier by Pāṇini,¹⁰³ Patañjali mentions it¹⁰⁹ with reference to the *sūtra* IV.1.70 as the name of a Janapada under a monarchical government. As a tribe, the Ambashṭhas can be traced in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*.¹¹⁰ They figure in the *Mahābhārata* along with the Śivis, Kshudrakas and Mālavikas who sided with the Kurus. Their position in the social scheme need not be considered here. They are identical with the Abastanoi, Sambastai, Sabaracae or Sabagrae of Alexander's historians¹¹² with their territory in the lower Akeshines (Asiknī) river.

Trigarta: This term¹¹³ means 'the land watered by the three rivers', very probably the rivers Rāvi, Beas and Sutlej. Their country had formed an *Ayuddha-jīvi samgha* or a confederation of six states—known as *Trigarta-shashṭha*, according to Pāṇini,¹¹⁴ and they were living mainly on arms. They are mentioned as allies of the Kurus in the *Mahābhārata*,¹¹⁵ but ultimately paying homage to Yudhisṭhira. According to the *Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi*,¹¹⁶ the Trigarta country is identified with Jalandhara (*Jālandharās-Trigarttāh syuḥ*), but it is brought in close proximity with Kāśmīra in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.¹¹⁷ Considered as a mountain tribe in the *Purāṇas*,¹¹⁸ Cunningham identified¹¹⁹ their country with the Kangra valley, situated near Jalandhar between the mountains of Chamba

108. VIII.3.97.

109. p. 267.17.

110. VIII.21.3.

111. VI. chap. 20, p. 750. They are located in the north west in this work which describes them as a kingship.

112. *Invasion of Alexander* (Mc-Crindle)—p. 155. Later geographers like Ptolemy, place the Ambastai, probably identical with the Ambashṭhas to the east of the country of the Paropamisadai *Geography* (Sastri's ed.) pp. 311-2.

113. VIII.1.15. p. 367-4.

114. V.3.116. According to Agarwala, the central position of Trigarta formed by the valley of the Beas was named Kulūta, mentioned twice in the *Gaṇapāṭha* as Kuluna (IV.2.133; IX.3.93) and known as Kulu.

115. VI. chap. 123, p. 754.

116. IV.24.

117. V.144.

118. *Mārk.* 57.57; *Matsya*—114.56.

119. ASR. XIV. p. 116.

and the upper course of the Beas. It may be located between the Rāvi and the Sutlej with its capital near Jalandhar.

Pāraskara: Patañjali treats it as a country (*Pāraskaradeśaḥ*)¹²⁰ and it might correspond with Thara Pārakara, one of the biggest districts in Sindh.¹²¹

Brāhmaṇaka: It is also called a Janapada by the Bhāshyakāra (*Brāhmaṇako nāma janapadaḥ*).¹²² It might as well be the name of a tribe corresponding to the Brachmanoi of Arrian.¹²³ Their country is distinguished by Patañjali with that of the Vrishalas (*Vrishaladeśa*),¹²⁴ the latter probably indicating the country of the Sodrai, mentioned by the Greek historians.¹²⁵ Cunningham¹²⁶ identified the country of the Brāhmaṇaka with Brahmanabad in Sindh.

Jihlava: Patañjali mentions it as a janapada (*Jihnavo nāma janapadaḥ*)¹²⁷ along with the Ikshvāka one in the same reference. The *Bṛihat Samhitā* mentions¹²⁸ Ikshvāku as a warrior tribe. The identification of the former is uncertain while the latter is considered to be the same as Kośala.¹²⁹

Janapadas of the Āryāvarta: Āryāvarta, the land of the elite Brāhmaṇas, the centre of activity — political and religious, engaged the special attention of the Bhāshyakāra. He refers to a number of kingdoms in this part of Bhāratavarsha. The

120. VI.1.57 p. 96-16. It is mentioned in the *gaṇa Pāraskara prabhriti* (Pāṇini—VI.1.157.).

121. Dey: GD. p. 149. It once denoted the whole of the south-eastern part of Sindh upto the coast of the Great Rann of Kachchha or Kachchha of Irma.

122. IV.2.104, p. 298.21.

123. *Indika* VI.16. The significance of the name is brought out by the *Kāśikā* describing it as the land of the Brāhmaṇas who were *Āyuddha-jivis*. The Greeks call them Brachmanoi and are located in middle Sind.

124. I.4.1. p. 301-8.

125. McCrindle: op. cit. p. 292. This might correspond to Saudrāṇa, included in the Aishukāri group in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, according to the *Kāśikā* (p. 305).

126. op. cit. (Śāstrī ed.) p. 691. It is noticed in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* as *Brāhmaṇavaḥ Janapada* (p. 94).

127. IV.2.104, p. 298.12, 14.

128. V.75.

129. 129. Agarwala: op. cit. p. 61.

Kuru,¹³⁰ Pañchāla,¹³¹ (Uttara and Pūrva), Kośala and Kāśī¹³² have past history and their location is settled. The Kuru country extended from Kurukshetra upto the river Gaṅgā with its capital at Hastināpura mentioned in the Mahābhāshya.¹³³ The Pañchālas, divided into the north and the eastern ones, date back to Vedic times.¹³⁴ The story of the division of the kingdom is given in the *Mahābhārata*.¹³⁵ The south Pañchāla included the territory to the east and south-east of the Kurus and the Sūrasenas, while the north one comprised the districts lying east of the river Gaṅgā and north-west of Avadha.¹³⁶ According to Cunningham,¹³⁷ the extent of the great kingdom of Pañchāla was confined within the Himalaya and the river Chambal. The Bhāshyakāra does not mention their respective capitals, but he does mention Ahichchatra¹³⁸ along with Kānyakubja, and Śāmkīśa which was at a distance of four yojanas from Gavīdhumata¹³⁹—identified with Kudarkot in the Etah district of the Uttara Pradeśa.¹⁴⁰

Kosla and Kāśī mentioned by Pāṇini¹⁴¹ are also noticed in the *Mahābhāshya*. The capital of the former, Sāketa is mentioned by Patañjali¹⁴². He also refers to Vārāṇasī, as capital of Kāśī which was situated on the river Gaṅgā (*anugaṅgām vārāṇasī*).¹⁴³

Magadha is mentioned as a monarchical state (*Magadhā-nām Rājan*).¹⁴⁴ It included the territory to the south of the Gaṅgā, corresponding to modern south Bihar with Pāṭaliputra

130. I.4.51 p. 336.5.

131. IV.3.155, p. 324.18-19.

132. IV.1.54, p. 223.13.

133. II.1.16, p. 380.

134. *Vedic Index*. I. p. 468.

135. *Ādiparva*, chap. 140. The division was made upon the defeat of Drupada at the hands of Droṇa. According to a Jātaka story the capital of north Pañchāla was founded by a Cheti prince.

136. Rapson : *Ancient India*, p. 167.

137. AG. (Śāstrī ed.) p. 360.

138. IV.1.79, p. 233.6.

139. II.3.28, p. 455.17.

140. *Ēl*. I. p. 129.

141. IV.3.171.

142. I.3.35. p. 281.14.

143. *Ibid*.

144. II.1.2 p. 375.8.

as its capital, situated on the river Son (*anuśoṇam Pāṭali-putram*).¹⁴⁵

*Videha*¹⁴⁶ and *Vriji*:¹⁴⁷ Patañjali mentions them separately although in earlier times the two were politically knit together.¹⁴⁸ The Vrijis, like the Kurus, had the government of a family (*Kuru gārhapatam Vriji gārhapatam*), but the Videhans are mentioned separately in the list of Kshatriyas.

Aṅga and Vaṅga:¹⁴⁹ These two are bracketed together. The former was well-known as a small janapada with its capital at Champā, comprising the present districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr.¹⁵⁰ Vaṅga corresponds to western and central Bengal, and, according to Pargiter,¹⁵¹ it must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Rajshahi, Pabna and Faridkot.

Puṇḍra and Suhma: Patañjali associates¹⁵² the two with the Vaṅga janapada. The Puṇḍras alone are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹⁵³ and in the sūtras.¹⁵⁴ The reference to the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* in the Damodarpur copperplate inscriptions¹⁵⁵ has facilitated its location. As regards, Suhma, Dey,¹⁵⁶ citing Nilakanṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, identified with Rādhā, comprising the districts of Hoogly and Burdwan.

145. II.1.16 p. 380.18.

146. IV.1.168 p. 268.22.

147. VI.2.42 p. 126.4.

148. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India* p. 25. The Lichchavis of Vaiśālī and the Videhans were the most important among the eight confederate clans collectively known as the Vajjins.

149. IV.1.170. p. 269.16-17.

150. Law: *Geography of Early Buddhism* p. 6.

151. JASB. 1895 p. 85.

152. IV.2.52 p. 282.8.

153. VII.18.

154. *Baudhāyana* I.2.14.

155. EI-XV. pp. 138 ff. Pargiter distinguished Puṇḍra from Paṇḍra, the former comprising the districts of Malda, a portion of Purnea to the east of the river Kosi and parts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts (JASB. 1895, p. 85). It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* I.422; II.584 and also by Rājaśekhara (Kāv. p. 9).

156. GD. p. 195. This janapada is mentioned in the Purāṇas (*Kali*. chap. 14; *Matsya*: chap. 113), and seems to have been named after Sumha, a son of Balī (*Vishnu*, Pt IV, chap. 18).

Kalinga :¹⁵⁷ Cunningham defined¹⁵⁸ its position as lying between Godāvārī in the south-west and the Gaoliya branch of the Irāvātī river in the north-west. Rapson placed¹⁵⁹ this janapada between the Mahādī and the Godāvārī. The *Mahābhārata*¹⁶⁰ includes Orissa in it with the northern boundary of this janapada extending as far as Vaitaraṇī. In the Purāṇas, Utkala or Orissa forms a separate unit.¹⁶¹

Prāgdeśa : There is a reference¹⁶² to this janapada. It seems identical with Prāgjyotiṣa which figures prominently in ancient Indian literature.¹⁶³ It may be identified with the whole of Assam proper along with north Bengal as far as Rangpur and Cooch Behar.¹⁶⁴

Avanti-Kuntī : The two are associated together by the Bhāṣyakāra.¹⁶⁵ The former represented the country of which Ujjain was the capital. Kuntī was probably a neighbouring janapada. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁶⁶

Surāshṭra : According to the *Kāśikā*,¹⁶⁷ Kuntī and Surāshṭra were in close proximity to each other. Pāṇini also refers to the compound names Kuntī-Surāshṭra.¹⁶⁸ Surāshṭra corresponds with the Syrastrène of Ptolemy, and is identified with the Peninsula of Kathiawar or Gujrat.¹⁶⁹ This janapada was definitely outside Āryāvarta.

157. III.2.115. p. 120.26.

158. AG. p. 117.

159. *Ancient India*, p. 164.

160. III. chap. 114. L. 10998.

161. *Brah.* chap. 43.

162. VII.1.96. p. 274.17.

163. *Mhb.* III.1.1887; *Mark. Pur.* 57.44; *Rāj.* IV.171.

164. IC.III. p. 732.

165. The two figure as janapada names ending in short *i* and implied in *sūtra* IV.1.171. (See also IV.1.14 p. 206.4).

166. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of Kuntī as the region through which the Āśva Nadi flowed (*Vana.* chap. 308.7). It is identified as a tributary of the Chambal (Dey. op. cit. p. 109). Agarwal identifies this janapada with the region of Kontwar, in the former Gwalior state (Madhya Pradesh) (op. cit. p. 62).

167. P. 548.

168. VI.2.37.

169. Dey : op. cit. p. 183. Rājasekhara mentions it in the list of western countries (*Pāśchāddeśa*) p. 94.

Vidarbha: It was an important kingdom in that period with a past history,¹⁷⁰ which subsequently acknowledged the suzerainty of Agnimitra. The *Māhabhārata*¹⁷¹ describes it as an ancient and renowned kingdom in the Deccan with Kuṇḍina (*kuṇḍinyapura*—modern Amraoti) on the banks of the Varadā as its capital. According to Pargiter,¹⁷² it comprised the valley of the Payoshinī, modern Pūrṇā and the middle portion of Tāptī, and corresponded to the western part of Berar and the valley country west of that. Cunningham included¹⁷³ Bhopal and Bhilsa to the north of the Narmadā in this kingdom.

Southern Janapadas: Patañjali seems to be in the know of kingdoms in the south which were in existence in the time of Aśoka. These include Choḍa, Kaḍera Kerala,¹⁷⁴ and Pāṇḍya.¹⁷⁵ Choḍa or Chola, corresponding to Coromandal coast, was bounded in the north by the river Pennar, in the south by Panākinī river to the west by Coorg and included the territory of Tanjore from Nellore to Puḍukōṭṭa.¹⁷⁶ The Kerala were on the Malabar coast, comprising, besides Malabar, Travancore and Kanara terminating at Cape Comorin in the south.¹⁷⁷ The Pāṇḍyas occupied the Tinne-velly and Madura districts.¹⁷⁸

170. Patañjali—IV.1.68 p. 268.22. The Vidarbhas were an ancient people, and their country is mentioned in the *Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* (II.440).

171. III. chap. 60. L. 2290.

172. *Mark. Pur.* (Trans.) p. 335n.

173. *Bhilsa Topes* p. 383.

174. IV.1.175 p. 270. 3-4.

175. IV.1.168. p. 269.13 Ref. Aśoka's Rock Edicts Nos. II & XIII. for reference to these kingdoms.

176. Pargiter—op. cit. 332; See also *Mahābhārata* III. 1988; The Chola kingdom (*Chola-maṇḍalam*) had its capital at Uraiyur near Trichinopoly.

177. Pargiter—ibid. cf. *Harivaṃśa* 782, 12838; Kerala or Malabar separated from Tuluva (? = Satiyaputra) by the Chandragiri river, and extending to Cape Comorin, was also known as Chera. Its most ancient capital was Vanji, Vanchi or Karur (Tirukarur) about 28 miles ENE of Cochin (Smith—Aśoka—*Indian Reprint* p. 157n).

178. Dey. op. cit. p. 247; cf. *Mahābhārata* II.1174. Its most ancient capital was the port of Korkai (Smith—op. cit. p. 174n). The three traditional kingdoms were well-known. In the Purāṇas too they are mentioned together (*Mārka.* 57.45; *Matsya.* V.46).

The location of the Kaḍeras is doubtful, though their association with the other kingdoms in the south can hardly be denied.

Besides these janapadas, a few other names are also mentioned by Patañjali, some of which could be identified. These include Daśārṇa¹⁷⁰ — not specified as a janapada. It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Purāṇas*¹⁸⁰ and is grouped with the Mālavas, Utkalas and Mekhalas in the Vindhyan tract. Its capital was Vidisā (modern Bhilsa) on the Vetravati (Betwa) according to Kālidāsa.¹⁸¹

Towns and Villages : The Bhāṣhyakāra also refers to big cities (*nagara*) villages (*grama*) and stations of herdsmen (*ghosha*). He also refers to bigger village units — like the *vāhikagrāma* and *udīchyagrāma*.¹⁸² These might be bigger geographical units. The place endings of names of cities and villages, as one finds in Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī* are not traced in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Only a few important towns figure in his work — the most important ones being — Takshāṣilā,¹⁸³ Mathurā¹⁸⁴ Pātaliputra,¹⁸⁵ Śāmkāśya,¹⁸⁶ Sāketa,¹⁸⁷ Vārāṇasī,¹⁸⁸ Kauśāmbī,¹⁸⁹ Hastināpura,¹⁹⁰ Gavīdhumata,¹⁹¹ Ahichchatra and Kānyakubja.¹⁹² Cities of western India noticed by

179. VI.1.89. p. 69.

180. *Kishkindhyā* 41.8-10; *Matsya*. chap. 114.

181. *Meghadūta* I. 23.24. This Daśārṇa might be different from the one mentioned in earlier series. B. C. Law distinguishes the two identifying the earlier one with the Dosarene of the Periplus (*Ancient Indian Tribes* p. 375). According to Wilson, eastern or south-eastern Daśārṇa formed part of the Chattisgarh district in the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh), including the old native state of Patna (*Vishṇu Purāṇa*. II. p. 260).

182. IV.2.104. p. 293.9.

183. I.3.10. p. 268. 12.

184. II.4.7. p. 474.

185. Ibid.

186. I.3.11. p. 273.13.

187. I.3.25 p. 281.14.

188. II.1.16. p. 380.18.

189. II.1.1. p. 371.12.

190. II.1.16. p. 380.18. It is 22 miles north-east of Meerut and to the south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of Gaṅgā.

191. II.3.28 p. 456.4. It was 4 yojanas from Śāmkāśya, and is identified with Kudarkot in the Etah district.

192. IV.1.79. p. 233.7.

him include Ujjayinī, Māhishmatī¹⁹³ Nāsikya¹⁹⁴ and Kāñchī-pura in the south.¹⁹⁵ A few unidentified places include Alam-busha,¹⁹⁶ Śaurya¹⁹⁷ and Ashtaka¹⁹⁸.

It is really difficult to identify the villages mentioned by the Bhāshyakāra. These included Ārata, Kastira, Dāsārūpya, Sauśika,¹⁹⁹ Pātānaprashtha, Nāndipura, Kaukuḍivāha.²⁰⁰ Those in the north (*udichyagrāma*) included —Chañārārūpya, Māñirūpya, Śivapura, Vāḍavakarśīya, Nilinaka and Aulāka.²⁰¹ The endings of place names were based on usage and custom. Commenting on the distinction between the terms *grāma* and *pura*, Patañjali suggests that these should not be settled by rules of grammar but by local usage (*tatrāti ninbandho na lābhaḥ*).²⁰² He also mentions a few unattached villages like Ketavatā²⁰³ and Tisrikā,²⁰⁴ while in some cases he gives additional details like Nāndipura as a Vāhikagrama,²⁰⁵ or Ikshumatī both eastern and western (*pūrva, aparā*).²⁰⁶ People coming from the same village were known to each other as *samānagrāmika*.

Patañjali sometimes refers to distances and directions as any one with a fair knowledge of geography would do. In the case of distance from Ujjayinī to Māhishmatī he refers to the speed in covering it (*Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhishyamatyām sūryodgamanam sambhavāyate sūryam udgamayati*).

A study of the geographical data from the *Mahābhāshya*, is indicative of Patañjali's familiarity with Āryāvarta. The janapadas mentioned by him are mostly those located in the north. He also mentions a few important ones from the south

193. III.1.26. p. 35.10. On the right bank of the Narmadā, 40 miles to the south of Indore.

194. VI.1.63 p. 42.4.

195. IV.2.104. p. 298.4.

196. I.1.1. p. 14.14.

197. I.1.57. p. 150.23.

198. 10.2.104. p. 298.24.

199. *ibid.* p. 293.4.

200. *ibid.* p. 298.

201. *ibid.* p. 293.

202. Kielhorn. III. p. 321.

203. II.4.7. p. 474.10.

204. VII.2.99. p. 307.19.

205. IV.2.104. p. 298.

206. VI.1.85. p. 62.

and those in western and eastern India. The Bhāshyakāra also notices a few cities and some villages including those in the Vāhikadeśa. His work may not be as comprehensive as the Ashtādhyāyī, it is nevertheless a fruitful source of study for the geographical information conveyed by it.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE

Patañjali presents, on the whole, a faithful picture of the contemporary social life of his time. The influx of foreigners, their assimilation into the social scheme, and the relaxation of caste rules owing to mixed unions, did not take the Bhāshyakāra by surprise. Noticing the unorthodox trend, he probably left the need to preserve purity in Brāhmaṇas so that they could justify their high social standing both by birth, and by intellectual eminence. This motive was mainly responsible for his monumental work in which he stresses, in the 'Introduction', the necessity of a good grounding in grammar for the Śiṣṭas. Grammar is the key to learning and enlightenment and, thus, the best preservative of the moral and cultural integrity of the Śiṣṭas. A close study of the *Mahābhāṣya* from the cultural standpoint unfolds interesting details about social life: as for example, Division of society into groups, Family life, Food, Household effects, Dress and Ornaments, Marriage and Position of Women, Pastime and Recreations, Social evils, Festivals, and other miscellaneous subjects of interest. The inferences drawn from the data may be inconclusive for want of corroboration, except occasionally from the Bhārhut and Sanchī sculptures but the correctness of the facts derived from this literary work may be accepted. Here it is worth while considering the Smritis, particularly that of Manu, with a view to assessing the position of some social groups, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Such a sociological study claims priority.

Division of Society:

Society was, no doubt, divided into the usual four classes, but mixed marriages, whether among the higher or lower groups, had resulted in the creation of some new castes. A complete list of progeny from such mixed unions is not given in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Some terms used by the *Bhāshyakāra* in this connection are also traced in the *Manusmṛiti*, and the *Mahābhārata*. Bright in facial complexion (*gaura*), pure in conduct (*suchyāchāra*), of a reddish brown colour (*piṅgala*)

and with red hair, possibly dyed (*kapilakēsa*),¹ the Brāhmaṇas were noted for the qualities which befitted them to perform suitable karmas (*tapas śrutam cha yoniś chety etad Brāhmaṇakārakam*).² Taking food while walking (*gachchhan bhakshyati*), and voiding in a standing posture were undignified actions for them (*a-Brāhmaṇo vam vas tishṭhan mūtrayati*).³ In the social organism, they occupied the foremost place (*loké mīshām Brāhmaṇam pūrvam ānāyati vah sarva pūrvah sa ānāyate*).⁴ Where a Brāhmaṇa failed in his literary and spiritual attainments, birth alone entitled him a place in his social group (*tapasśrutābhyām vo hīno jātibrahmaṇa eva saḥ*).⁵ Such persons had degraded themselves by adopting low professions, as for instance, the Brāhmaṇas cleaving wood (*kāshṭhabhid Brāhmaṇaḥ*).⁶

The warrior class (*Kshatriyas—Senānikula*),⁷ Vaiśyas and Śūdras enjoyed the usual position in society, but members of some other groups presented a strange phenomenon. These included: Vrishalas,⁸ Varuḍas,⁹ Ugras,¹⁰ Nishādas,¹¹ Chāṇḍālas¹² and Mritapas.¹³ Some of these are also mentioned in the Vedic literature, like the *Vrishala*,¹⁴ *Chāṇḍāla*¹⁵ and *Nishāda*.¹⁶ The form *Vrishala* was used for a social outcast, but later on it implied an irreligious person (*adhārmika*),¹⁷ as for example, in the *Mudrārākshasa*,¹⁸ Chandragupta is called a *Vrishala*. The *Chāṇḍāla* and *Nishāda* are supposed to be

1. II.2.6 p. 411.18.

2. *ibid.* 16.17.

3. *ibid.* 22.

4. VI.2.36 p. 125.25.

5. V.1.115 p. 363.15.

6. III, 4.69 p. 179.13.

7. I.1.39 p. 97.16.

8. I.1.7 p. 59.18.

9. IV.1.97. p. 253.5.

10. IV.1.14 p.257.15.

11. V.4.36 p. 435.8.

12. II.4.10 p. 475.6.

13. *ibid.*

14. RV. X.34.11; cf. *Nirukta*, III 16.

15. *Vaj Sam.* XXX. 21; *Tait Brah.* III. 4.17, 1, etc.

16. *Tait Sam.* IV.5, 4, 2; *Vaj Sam.* XVI. 27 etc.

17. *Sanskrit—Wörterbück*, Vol. 6. p. 1342.

18. Act, I. 12.

Non-Aryans representing tribal bodies, but the two terms later on denoted despised castes whose members were engaged in very low professions. Manu named the off-spring from the union between a Śūdra father and a Brāhmaṇī mother a *Chāṇḍāla* (*śūdrād āyogavaḥ kshattā chaṇḍālaś cha adhamo nri-nām*)¹⁹ but where the father was a Brāhmaṇa and mother a Śūdra the progeny was called *Pāraśava* (*nishādah Śūdra kanyāyām yah Pāraśava uchyate*).²⁰ The terms *Varuḍa* and *Ugra* are used for off-spring from mixed marriages. The former belonged to one of the seven low castes called *antyaja* whose occupation, according to Manu's commentator Kullūka, was splitting canes (*veṇor bhedanena yo jīvati buruḍa iti*).²¹ The *Ugra* traced his origin to a Kshatriya father and a Śūdra mother (*kshatriyāch chchūdrākanyāyām*)²² and was noted for his cruel disposition and rude conduct (*krūravihāravān*). The *Mritapa* belonged to that class of persons who looked after dead bodies, and collected deadmen's clothes or executed criminals.²³ In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, he is called *smasānādhikārin*,²⁴ the lord of the cremation ground. Persons belonging to these groups had an inferior position in the social setting, partly for their professions, and partly, for their lineage. The Śakas and Yavanas, living in Āryan villages and hamlets outside Āryāvarta were not ostracized;²⁵ and they enjoyed the privilege of using a plate without polluting it. From Patañjali's comment on the *Sūtra Śūdrānām anirvasitānām*²⁶ one gets the impression that foreigners were being gradually assimilated in Indian society without merging their separate entity.

Family circle:

The family (*kula*)²⁷ formed the smaller unit and its members looked after the collective interest rather than the indivi-

19. X. 12. Cf. *Mah.* XIII. 2572.

20. X. 8.

21. IV. 215 (Mandalick's edition).

22. *Manu.* X. 9.

23. *Mhb.* XIII. 2583.

24. I. 59.8.

25. *Mahābhāshya* Vol. I. p. 475.

26. II. 4.10 p. 475.

27. I. 1.51 p. 128.9.

dual one for mutual welfare. In this connection, it may be interesting to assess the status of the existing members and that of the new entrants in the family group. The families were high and noble, like those of the regal class (*Rājakula*, *Rājaputrī*, *Rajadukhitā*),²⁸ or of a degraded nature (*daushkulyam*).²⁹ There were certain families named after the teacher, or the preceptor, as for instance, *Gārgyakulam*, *Vaidakulam*, *Aṅgakulam*, *Kārishagandhyāpatikulam*,³¹ and a few more named after the position or the designation of the person, such as *Grāmaṇikulam*³² or *Senānikulam*.³³ The members of this unit constituted blood kindred with varying status, as the eldest, second, and the youngest, when there were more than one son (*bahushu putreshu etad upapannam bhavaty ayam me jyeshṭhaḥ putro 'yam me madhyamo 'yam me kaṇīyān iti*).³⁴ The family group included brother and his son (*bhrātushputra*),³⁵ and a number of other relations (*bahavo 'bhisambandhāḥ*) but the circle was not confined to marital relations only (*arthā yaunā maukhāḥ śrauvās cha*).³⁶ The Grihapati³⁷ with his *bhāryā* or *patnī*, both terms being synonymous, looked after the domestic interest. The son was supposed to be the remover of sorrow (*Śokāpanudah putro jātaḥ*),³⁸ and his birth in the family was hailed with joy. The *nāmakarman* ceremony took place on the tenth day after the birth of the child (*daśamyā uttarakālāṁ putrasya jātasya nāmā bhidadhyāt*).³⁹ The daughter's son (*dauhitra*) and grandson (*pautra*),⁴⁰ were fairly important persons in a family. The relations on the in-law's side included the parents-in-law (*Śvasura śvasru*).⁴¹ The ma-

28. VI, 3.70 p. 161.12.

29. VIII, 5.41 p. 434.5.

30. II, 4.64, p. 493.

31. VI, 1.13 p. 20.4.

32. I, 1.7 p. 128.9.

33. I, 1.62 p. 161.9.

34. I, 1.21 p. 77.20.

35. I, 2.71 p. 250.13.

36. I, 1.49 p. 118.21.

37. IV, 4.90 p. 354.16.

38. III, 2.5 p. 98.16.

39. I, 1.1 p. 4.32.

40. IV, 1.104 p. 254.27.

41. I, 2.71 p. 250.27.

ternal and paternal aunts (*mātrishvasā pitrishvasā*),⁴² the maternal uncle and aunt (his wife) (*mātula-mātulānī* or *mā-tulī*),⁴³ the grandparents on the father's and the mother's side (*pitāmaha pitāmahī; mātāmaha mātāmahī*)⁴⁴ were other *Yauna* relations. The *Mahābhāshya* does not add other relations to the family group. The reference to the maternal uncle (*mātula*), Āshāḍhasena in the Pabhosa record⁴⁵ indicates the broad nature of the family circle. The members of at least three generations, *pitāmaha*, *pitā* and *pautra* in direct line belonged to the family group, as one notices in the comment relating to the *Yuvasamjñā*.

Food:

The evidence adduced by Patañjali on the subject of 'Food and Drinks', is exhaustive, with vegetarian and non-vegetarian items, solid and liquid food, arrangements for meals, milk preparations, sweets, wines, and fruits, and even dinner etiquette rules. Fasts were undertaken for some set purposes, like the one for propitiating the Sun (*Ādityavrata*).⁴⁶ In the *Mahā-nāmnīvrata*,⁴⁷ verses of that name were recited. During the period of fasting, people lived on water (*ab-bhaksha*) and sometimes even without it (*vāyu bhaksha*).⁴⁸ The word *bhojya* denoted food fit for eating (*bhakshya*), whether solid (*kharavishada*) or liquid (*drava*); but at one place in the *Mahābhāshya* its use is restricted to solid food alone, as for instance, in the illustration (*guḍena saṁsrishṭā guḍasamsrishṭāh guḍasamsrishṭhā dhānā guḍadhānāh*).⁴⁹ A study of the data would suggest the taste of the people, and their favourite dishes.

(a) *Types of food—Vegetarian*: A vegetarian was known as *śākabhojin*⁵⁰ and he had to depend exclusively on grains and vegetables for his staple food, though there was a

42. IV. 1.96 p. 252.21.

43. IV. 1.49 p. 220.21.

44. IV. 2.36 p. 277.17, 22.

45. E.I. Vol. II. p. 240.

46. I. 2.54 p. 246.28.

47. V. 1.94 p. 360.9.

48. I. 1.1 p. 6.23.

49. II. 1.35 p. 387.9.

50. II. 1.69 p. 406.7.

wider choice of alternatives. These included *śāli*⁵¹ (a rice of ten varieties), *hāyana*⁵² (a sort of red rice), *yava*⁵³ (barley), and *shashṭika*⁵⁴ (another kind of rice ripening in sixty days). Some other cereals were *yavāni*⁵⁵ (*ptychotis ajowan*), a kind of inferior barley, *gavidhuka*⁵⁶ boiled with rice (*gavidhuka yavāgu*), and with barley (*gavidhukaśakṭayaḥ*)⁵⁷ in preparing gruel, and *tila*⁵⁸ (*sesamum indicum*). The auxiliary edibles, popularly known as pulses, included: *mudga*, *rājamāsha*,⁵⁹ and *māsha*,⁶⁰ a kind of pulse having red marks with black and grey spots. Certain stuff known as *saṃskṛitaṃ* could be taken without any further preparation or dressing (*saṃskṛitaṃ hi nāma tad bhavati vat tad eva apakrishya abhy-ava-hriyate*, like, groats grounded on stone (*dārshadaḥ saktava iti*), but barley pounded in a mortar needed extra cooking before it could be eaten (*na cha yāvaka ulūkhalād eva apakrishya abhyavahriyate 'vasavaṃ randhanādini pratikshyāni*).⁶¹ The dressing of substances was done through different processes: *miśṛikaraṇa*, the act of mixing, seasoning an ingredient; *vyāñjana*—the use of anything in cooking or preparing food; and using sauce and condiment. Failure to do so rendered the food tasteless. The two sūtras of Pāṇini *Annena vyāñjanam* and *Bhakshena miśṛikaraṇam*, considered together by Patañjali⁶² give some information regarding the process of dressing articles of food before they could be served on the table. *Dadhi*-curd was used for sprinkling (*dadhyupāsiktā*),⁶³ and tamarind sauce (*taittīdikam*)⁶⁴ gave flavour. *Palāla*-ground sesamum, *sūpa*-pulse juice, and *śāka*-vegetables were mixed with other substances. Only

51. I. 1.23 p. 82.5.

52. IV. 1.27 p. 223.3.

53. I. 1.1 p. 42.21.

54. V. 1.93 p. 360.3.

55. IV. 1.49 p. 220.

56. IV. 3. 136 p. 323.2.

57. *Vedic Index* Vol. I, p. 223.

58. III. 2.28 p. 102.6.

59. V. 1.20 p. 345.25.

60. I. 1.51 p. 127.8.

61. IV. 3.25 p. 307.8f.

62. II. 1.34-35 p. 286.

63. II. 1.35 p. 387.8.

64. IV. 3.156 p. 326.8.

*mūlaka*⁶⁵ and *alābū*,⁶⁶ the fruit of the bottle gourd mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, are placed in the list of vegetables in the *Arthaśāstra*,⁶⁷ and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana.⁶⁸

The favourite vegetarian food was boiled rice, called *odana*,⁶⁹ also known as *bhakta*,⁷⁰ which was sometimes cooked with meat (*māṃsaudana*).⁷¹ It was much relished, and Patañjali metaphorically compares the heap of rice served on a plate to the mountain Vindhya (*Vindhyo vardhitakam iti*).⁷² This staple food dating back to the Vedic times,⁷³ continued to be popular in the later period as well.⁷⁴ *Yavāgu* or rice gruel was a liquid substance, possibly licked with the fingers of the hand (*vilepi*) or mixed with water and then drunk (*peya*). It is associated with *payas* milk, and *sūpa* meant for Brāhmaṇas (*brāhmaṇārthā yavāgū iti*).⁷⁵ The *Kāśikā* mentions *yavāgu* of a thin variety (*alpānnā yavāgūr ushṇika ity uchyate*),⁷⁶ and another a scaldy one (*nakhaṃpachā yavāgū*).⁷⁷ In earlier literature⁷⁸ it is referred to as a barley gruel, but it also denoted weak decoctions of other kinds of *Jartila* and *Gavīdhuka*.⁷⁹ *Sūpa*, or thin curry, dressed with salt (*lavaṇaḥ sūpaḥ*),⁸⁰ was a good combination with boiled rice (*iha cha bahur odanaḥ bahuḥ sūpa iti*).⁸¹ A pea-soup was also prepared (*kālāya sūpa*)⁸².

The vegetarian menu included several other items, some of which were meant for breakfast, or afternoon nourishment,

65. IV. 1.48 p. 219.20.

66. VI. 3.61 p. 164.9.

67. XXIV. p. 117.

68. I.28.

69. I. 1.1 p. 42.17.

70. III. 1.26 p. 33.26.

71. II. 3.13 p. 450.1.

72. I. 4.24 p. 327.

73. RV. VIII. 97.10; *Sat-Brah.* II. 5, 3, 4, etc.

74. *Mil.* p. 16, L.18; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 327 etc.

75. II. 1.36 p. 388; 25.

76. P. 422 (Benares Ed.)

77. P. 174.

78. *Tait Sam.* VI. 2, 5, 2.

79. *ibid.*, V. 4, 3, 2.

80. I.2.51 p. 227.13.

81. I. 4.21 p. 321.10.

82. V. 1.19 p. 344.18.

such as *krisara*⁸³ a mixture of sesamum and rice, with a few peas and spices added to it, and *śaktu*⁸⁴ groats mixed with molasses or *dadhi*. Sweets and sweet cakes included: *śashkuli*⁸⁵ made of ground rice, sugar and sesamum and cooked in oil; *pūpa*⁸⁶ or *apūpa*,⁸⁷ mixed with ghee (*ghritavant*), or made of rice and barley; *piṣṭapindi*⁸⁸—a flour cake, and *palāla*⁸⁹ a kind of sweetmeat made of *guḍa*, sesamum and sugar, and cooked. The substances used in making sweet preparations were *madhu*⁹⁰ or honey, *guḍa*⁹¹ molasses produced from sugar cane juice, and *śarkara*⁹² or crystal sugar. The sweet balls popularly known as *modaka*⁹³ were relished by children. Certain cold drinks soothed the wearied people in summer, as for example, *gudodaka*,⁹⁴ a thin liquid substance, being a mixture of water and molasses. *Payas*-milk, and whey (*mathitam*) were available from shopkeepers known as *māthitika*.⁹⁵ *Haiyamgavīna*⁹⁶ was clarified butter prepared from last day's milk.

(b) *Non-vegetarian*: The non-vegetarians seem to have enjoyed both types of food, as there were some restrictions imposed by custom regarding the slaughter of animals. Patañjali mentions that five five-nailed animals could be taken (*pañcha panchanakhā bhakshyā*) but not others (*anyē bhakshyah*). The wild boar and the wild cock could be eaten, but not those from the village itself (*abhakshyo grāmyakukkuṭo 'bhakshyo grāmyaśūkara*).⁹⁷ A town born boar or cock also enjoyed this privilege (*nagaro 'pi na bhak-*

83. VIII. 3.59 p. 439.12.

84. I. 1.57 p. 149.11.

85. I. 1.47 p. 116.23.

86. I. 1.1. p. 38.5.

87. I. 2.45 p. 217.13.

88. II. 1.57 p. 399.24.

89. I. 1.1 p. 38.6.

90. I. 1.1 p. 18.19.

91. I. 4.49 p. 333.3.

92. IV. 4.83 p. 334.11.

93. V. 1.119 p. 366.9.

94. I. 4.3 p. 310.14.

95. V. 3.93. p. 425.18.

96. V. 2.23 p. 375.2, 5.

97. I. 1.1 p. 5.16f.

shyate).⁹⁸ A glutton, fond of flesh, was known as *māmsa-śīlah*.⁹⁹ There is a reference to deer being sacrificed for preparing meat rice (*māmsaudanāya vyāharati mrigaḥ*).¹⁰⁰ Raw flesh was known as *kravya*¹⁰¹ and that of sheep was called *averamāmsam*.¹⁰² The meat with a thick membrane or omentum (*pravapāni māmsāni*)¹⁰³ was probably relished. One who had tasted the flesh of *śaraṅga* bird was called *śarangajagdhī*.¹⁰⁴ Onions (*palāṇḍu*)¹⁰⁵ were, probably, included in the non-vegetarian menu, but in literature their use is forbidden for the Kshatriyas.¹⁰⁶ The fish eater was required to remove scales and small bones before eating it (*śakalakaṇṭakān utsrijati*).¹⁰⁷

(c) *Fruits and Drinks*: In a lavish menu, items of dessert and sweet wines were not left out. The fruits included: *Bimba*¹⁰⁸ (*momordica monodelpha*) to which the lips of women are compared by poets; *dāḍima*¹⁰⁹—pomegranate; *mrid-vikā*,¹¹⁰ a kind of vine having reddish grapes, and *kuvali*,¹¹¹ the fruit of jujube tree. These are only a few fruits mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*, but there were certainly other fruits as well. Different kinds of drinks—soft and alcoholic—were enjoyed by the people. In the case of a Brāhmaṇi, religious penalty was attached to drinking, and one so doing incurred the risk of being deprived of the company of her husband in the next world (*vā Brāhmaṇi surāpī bhavati nainām devāḥ patiloke nayanti*).¹¹² Its use, however, was not unknown in a Brāhmaṇa family. The Bhāshyakāra mentions the following types

98. VII. 3.14 p. 320.22.

99. III. 2.1 p. 95.18.

100. II. 3.1 p. 450.1.

101. III. 2.69 p. 108.6.

102. IV. 2.60 p. 283.20.

103. VIII. 4.16 p. 458.12.

104. II. 2.36 p. 437.21.

105. Ibid.

106. *Divyāyadāna*, p. 409.21.

107. I. 2.39 p. 912.6.

108. I. 1.58, p. 153.13.

109. I. 1.1 p. 38.5.

110. VI. 3.42 p. 158.16.

111. IV. 3.170 p. 323.5.

112. III. 2.8 p. 99.8.

of alcoholic drinks: *surā*¹¹³ which was distilled from molasses, and a spirituous liquor made of rice called *prasannā* which often had oily substance in its (*bahu-tailam prasannā*),¹¹⁴ and *śuṇḍā*, a spirituous liquor,¹¹⁵ though the term also denoted a tavern where it was available, and its seller was known as *śuṇḍāra*.¹¹⁶ One fond of it was called *śaṇḍa*.¹¹⁷ *Āsuti*,¹¹⁸ a brew mixture mentioned earlier by Pāṇini, was a religious drink prepared by the priest known as *Āsutiśāla*.¹¹⁹ Flavour was sometimes given to these alcoholic preparations by mixing onion juice (*ayanṁ palāṇḍunā surām pibet*).¹²⁰ Drinking to the lees was not unknown, and there is a reference to drinking a complete jar (*ghaṭimdhamaḥ*), and through a pipe made of reed (*nāḍimdhamaḥ*).¹²¹

Dinner Etiquette :

Certain conventional dinner rules were observed in higher circles with a view to maintaining the dignity of social relations. These included table manners, and those relating to the extending and acceptance of invitations to dinner. The servers were not expected to partake while the guests were eating (*Brāhmaṇā bhojyantām, mātharakaṇḍinyau pariveviśhām iti na idāniṁ tau bhuñjate*).¹²² Invitations were generally extended to members of one's caste (*anyo 'nyam ime Brāhmaṇa kule bhojayataḥ*).¹²³ Certain Brāhmaṇas, known as *śrāddhabhojin*, accepted invitations to partake obsequial food; but those who avoided such invitations were called *a-śrāddhabhojī Brāhmaṇaḥ*.¹²⁴ There were two kinds of invitations - *nimantraṇa* and *āmantraṇa*. The former was extended

113. I.2.62 p. 242.25.

114. V.3.66 p. 421.27.

115. IV.1.52 p. 246.26.

116. V.3.88 p. 427.4.

117. II.1.1 p. 360.8.

118. VI.4.194 p. 229.23.

119. V.2.112.

120. P. 419.4.

121. III.2.29 p. 102.15, 16.

122. J.1.2 p. 28.14.

123. VIII.1.14 p. 370.19.

124. III.2.80 p. 109.19.

in offering *havya*—oblation to gods, and *kavya*—oblation to manes food. It was obligatory to accept it (*evam tarhi yan niyogataḥ kartavyam tām nimantraṇam*), as its refusal entailed sin (*brāhmaṇena siddham bhujyatām ity ukte dharmah pras tyākkhyātuh.*)¹²⁵ *Āmantraṇa* was only a friendly invitation without any obligation attached to it. A common meal was called *samāsa*¹²⁶ which probably implied taking food on the same table, or in the same row on the floor, but in different plates. In certain customary feasts, the choice was limited to a particular item, as for example, the *vaṭaka* cakes were eaten on the *vaṭakini Paurṇamāsī*¹²⁷ day.

Household Effects:

These included several utensils used in cooking, as well as those laid on the dinner table, and others, needed for ordinary household comforts. Patañjali mentions a smaller water jar *ghaṭikā*¹²⁸ *kuṇḍikā*¹²⁹—a still smaller vessel, popularly known as student's water pot, and *kumbha*¹³⁰—another type of water storing vessel. The last one was big enough to store grain which could last for some time. One doing so was known as *kumbhīdhānya* (*yasya kumbhyām eva dhānyam sa kumbhīdhānyaḥ*).¹³¹ Other vessels included: *kuṇḍa*¹³²—which was bowl shaped, as illustrated by Fergusson¹³³ in his work showing a woman holding a bowl in her left hand, and a *ghaṭa*—covered with a glass in her right hand; and *sthālī*¹³⁴—a big earthen dish or pan, now known as *thālī*. There is a reference to *sthālīpiṭhara*,¹³⁵ probably a wooden stool on which the plate was placed. *Ukhā*, a boiler or cauldron, is noted by Patañ-

125. III.1.161 p. 165.13-15.

126. I.1.50 p. 123.3.

127. V.2.82 p. 388.20.

128. I.1.1 p. 7.13.

129. I.4.44 p. 102.12.

130. I.1.58 p. 153.1.

131. I.3.7 p. 264.2.

132. I.1.1 p. 38.5.

133. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. XXXa.

134. IV.1.1 p. 194.17.

135. I.4.101 p. 350.21.

jali¹³⁶ by way of comparison. There were also special jars for storing ghee (*ghritaghata*) and oil (*tailaghata*).¹³⁷ *Sarāva*¹³⁸ was a small shallow dish or cup which is mentioned in earlier literature,¹³⁹ as a measure of corn, and *chāru*¹⁴⁰ was particularly used in preparing oblation of the same name. Some of the vessels, like those for storing water, oil or ghee, were earthen; but copper or bronze ones were not unknown. These were used for taking rice and ghee, as well as milk. That reminds one of the famous story of an old woman asking for a boon from Indra (*bahukshiraghrītam odanam kāmśyapātryām bhuñjiraññiti*).¹⁴¹ Some of these utensils—a bowl, plate or platter and a water vessel—are also noticed in the Bhārhut sculptures.¹⁴²

Other household effects included : soft chair (*mañchika*)¹⁴³ a bed-stead (*khatyā*),¹⁴⁴ and lamps (*pradīpa*)¹⁴⁵ of two kinds a standing one with a heavy base to keep it steady, and a hanging one, as shown in the Bhārhut sculptures.¹⁴⁶ The chairs with back and arms, or plain ones like ordinary stools, were different from those used by the noble class.¹⁴⁷ The bedstead was a simple oblong frame supported on four legs, called *khatyāpāda*¹⁴⁸ by Patañjali with club feet, exactly like the common bedstead of the present day.

Housing Arrangements:

The information supplied by *Mahābhāshya* on this topic is meagre, but the Bhārhut illustrations are helpful in this matter. The dwelling houses were of one stereotyped pat-

136. IV.1.6 p. 202.13.

137. II.1.1 p. 364.18.

138. I.1.72 p. 189.24.

139. *Veāic Index* Vol. II. p. 358.

140. IV.2.7 p. 273.12.

141. VIII.2.2 p. 388.12.

142. Cunningham : *Bhārhut*—Pls. XXVIII. figs. 2, 3; XL. fig. 3.

143. IV.1.3 p. 201.3.

144. *Ibid.* 25.

145. II.1.1 p. 359.6.

146. Pls. XXVIII. fig. 3. XVI. fig. 3.

147. *Ibid.*, Pls. XXV.3; XXVII.12; XLVIII.2.

148. I.2.48 p. 224.16.

tern,¹⁴⁹ consisting of a long room with a pointed or semi-cylindrical domed roof, and a small opening for air and light on each side. B. M. Barua suggested¹⁵⁰ that the home of the common people was a mud-walled hut, provided with doors and small windows, and the same pattern was used for the market shops. The abodes of hermits and ascetics were mere huts, with roofs thatched with straw and the four sides tapered to a point marked by a pinnacle.¹⁵¹ The best illustration of such huts is provided by the one fenced with a bamboo paliade, and adorned with a somewhat ornamental pinnacle.¹⁵² Patañjali mentions *gavāṅkshā*¹⁵³ or round window, and *aṭṭālika* or tower. The compound *aṭṭālika-bandham*¹⁵⁴ has been used by him to illustrate the formation of those towers. The plastering (*kuṭṭimā*)¹⁵⁵ of the floor had not changed the simplicity of the houses which were in striking contrast, at least in size, with the palaces of which only one specimen¹⁵⁶ (*vaijayaṇṭa prāsāda*) is seen in the sculptures. It is a three-storied building divided into three perpendicular portions with an open pillared hall in the basement, and three arched openings on each section. Further details are wanting, and there is no reference to the plastering of walls (*kaṭalepana*), partitions (*bhitti*), separate apartments for ladies (*antaḥpura*), and the painting of the house (*varṇitā*), as one finds in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature¹⁵⁷ of a later period. The Bhāṣyakāra is silent about the material used in the construction of houses. Megasthenes mentions¹⁵⁸ the beautiful wooden palace of the Mauryas, but the monuments of this period suggest a change from wood to stone or bricks, which may have imposed some limitations on the size and types of houses. This may be the main reason

149. Cunningham, op. cit. Pl. XLIII. fig. I; XLV, fig. 7.

150. *Bhārhut* Vol. III. 139 (fig. 102, 94, 43).

151. *Ibid.*, fig. 131.

152. *Ibid.*, fig. 105.

153. III. 4. 156 p. 166.5.

154. III. 4. 41 p. 177.17.

155. IV. 4. 20 p. 330.10.

156. Cunningham : *Bhārhut*, p. 118; pl. XVI, fig. 1.

157. *Saddh. Pund.* III. 39-50; *Lalit.* XIV. p. 186.

158. Strabo, XV. 1.36.

for a single pattern of houses, as one finds in the Bhārhut sculptures.

Dress and Ornaments:

Evidence relating to these items is available from several sources—the *Mahābhāshya*, Bhārhut sculptures and the terracotta figurines of that period which have been found at many places in Northern India. The use of clothes was primarily to cover the body (*śātakān āchchhādayāmah*).¹⁵⁹ The lower garment was called *upasaṃvyāna*¹⁶⁰ corresponding to modern *dhoti*—loin cloth—which was generally white in colour (*śukla vastra*).¹⁶¹ The upper cloth for covering shoulders was called *paṭa*. Its white colour (*paṭaḥ śuklaḥ*)¹⁶² made it distinct from the red turban (*lohito ushṇishah*) which was the common dress of a priest (*lohitoshṇisha ritviḥḥ pracharanti*).¹⁶³ Patañjali also refers to the use of cotton (*kārpāsa*)¹⁶⁴ and wool (*urṇā*).¹⁶⁵ The sewing of clothes was done through a sharp needle (*tikshṇayā sūchyā sūryan*).¹⁶⁶ The use of tunics was known even in earlier times, and the Bhārhut sculptures have a single figure of a soldier dressed in tunic with long sleeves covering the mid thigh. It is tied in two places by a cord with two tassels, and across the stomach by a double looped bow. The *dhoti*, as usual, covers the loins and thighs, reaching below the knees with the ends hanging down to the ground in front in a series of extremely stiff and formal folds.¹⁶⁷ Boots were also used. Patañjali refers to leather shoes (*upānaḥ charma*), as well as wooden sandals (*upānaḥ dāru*).¹⁶⁸ They are also noticed in the solitary figure of a soldier at Bhārhut, reaching up to the legs and fastened by a cord with two tassels.

159. I.1.1 p. 19.4.

160. I.1.36 p. 93.12.

161. I.1.11 p. 67.23.

162. I.4.21 p. 321.16.

163. I.1.27 p. 86.7.

164. IV.1.55 p. 224.14.

165. V.1.3 p. 338.19.

166. II.1.2 p. 373.20.

167. Cunningham: op. cit. p. 32.

168. V.1.2 p. 337.6-7.

The lay devotees are bare-footed, as it is against the custom of the country to put on shoes in places of worship.

The dress of ladies consisted of a skirt, generally white in colour (*śukla śālī*).¹⁶⁹ There is no reference to the covering of the upper part, but one can hardly doubt the use of *paṭa*. The upper parts of the figures of Yakshiṇī Chandā and Chūlakokā are shown naked in sculptures, but in the case of the former 'there are perceptible marks of the folds or creases', as Cunningham pointed out,¹⁷⁰ 'of a light muslin wrapper under the right breast'. He thought it probable that an upper garment of a light material was intended to be shown by the sculptor, but its folds were purposely avoided with a view to displaying different types of necklaces, collars and girdles. The head was covered by elaborately worked veils, of which specimens can be noticed in the Yakshiṇī figures at Bhārhut.¹⁷¹ The sculptor found it rather difficult to show the wrapping of the veil which covers the shoulders down to the waist, and the parallel creases, seen under the right breast, are probably intended to show that the Chaddar upper covering, was wrapped round the body. Strabo also mentions¹⁷² embroidered garments, interwoven with gold.

The dyeing of clothes was very common. Patañjali¹⁷³ refers to the blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), green (*harit*), and brown red (*kāshāya*) colours. Red was very popular, and the turban cloth was dyed in that colour. The substance used for dyeing was known as *śakala*, a kind of black pigment, but clay or slime (*kardama*),¹⁷⁴ was well-known. A taste for the combination of colours is apparent from a reference to the white amidst the red (*dvayor raktayor vastrayor madhye śuklam vastram tadguṇam upa-labhyate*).¹⁷⁵

(b) *Ornaments:*

Patañjali mentions four kinds of ornaments which could

169. II.2.5 p. 410.21.

170. op. cit. p. 33.

171. op. cit. p. 33.

172. XV.1.69.

173. IV.2.2 p. 271.10 f.

174. ibid.

175. I.1.29 p. 206.

be made out of a lump of gold without disturbing the substance, (*ākṛitir anyā cha anyā cha bhavati dravyam punas tad eva*).¹⁷⁶ These are *rūchaka*, *kaṭaka*, *svastika*, and *kuṇḍala*. Probably *rūchaka* was a kind of gold ornament or necklace, while *kaṭaka* was a bracelet of gold or shell. The *svastika* and *kuṇḍala* were a triangular piece and an ear-ring respectively. Besides these ornaments, a few more noticed in the Bhārhut sculptures can be listed. Ornaments were not confined to ladies only; men also used a few. Ear-rings, necklaces, armlets and bracelets were put on by both, but forehead pieces like *latikā* or the fastened leaf, long collars, garlands, zones or girdles and *anklets* were exclusively meant for ladies.¹⁷⁷ The *svastika* of Patañjali was a triangular crest jewel. The ear-rings, popularly known as *karnikā* or *kuṇḍala*, were of different types, as shown by Cunningham.¹⁷⁸ The attached pendants were given separate names, such as bell pendant, now called *jhumkā* in Hindi. The Buddhist *triratna* was very popular. Necklace corresponding to *rūchaka* of Patañjali, now called *hara*, could be a short (*kaṇṭhābhūshā*), or a long one (*lalāntikā*), reaching as far as the breasts. The *triratna* figures prominently in it. Armlets, used uniformly,¹⁷⁹ were bands of gold with precious stones embedded in them. They are now known as *bāju*, and are used by ladies alone. Bracelets, corresponding to *kaṭaka* of the *Mahābhāshya*, had succession of strings and beads, either square or round in shape and their number varied.¹⁸⁰ Girdles were exclusively meant for ladies and there are some good specimens of this ornament in the Bhārhut sculptures.¹⁸¹ Some of these have small bunches or bells sounding with the gait of the lady. Anklets and finger rings were minor ornaments. The former were either of spiral coils, or of consecutive circles of gold pieces one over the other, the upper and the lower ones being ornamented.¹⁸²

These ornaments had something more than their decora-

176. I. 1.1 p. 7.15f.

177. Cunningham; op. cit. Pl. XLIV, figs. 1-9, 178, *ibid.*, fig. 12.

178. *ibid.*, pl. XLIX, fig. 15, 16, 18, 19.

179. *Ibid.*

180. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

181. *Ibid.*, Pl. LI. fig. 3.

182. *Ibid.* „ figs. 4 and 5.

tive value; they harmonised with the beauty of the body. Their use further depended on the taste of the person. The tendency to put on too many ornaments was common among ladies; for men it was merely an attempt to show off.

Hair Arrangement :

The arrangement of hair was not so simple, as may appear, with a parting line in the middle *sīmanta* and the mass of hair gathered together at the back and plaited into one or two long rolls hanging down as low as the waist, or twisted and tied into a large knot at the back (*keśānām samāhāraś chūḍasya keśachūḍah*),¹⁸³ There are also references to shaven headed persons (*muṇḍa*), those with twisted hair (*jaṭī*), or keeping a tuft or lock of hair on the crown of the head (*śikhī*).¹⁸⁴ The cutting of hair was also known (*keśānvapati*),¹⁸⁵ and some also shaved their moustache (*keśāmasrūvapati*).¹⁸⁶ Patañjali refers to *tanukeśyaḥ striyaḥ*¹⁸⁷—meaning 'ladies with delicate hair,' or 'keeping bob-wig' which one hardly finds in the sculptures of that period. The figure at Bharhut and Sāñchī, however, show different methods of arranging the hair. In the first type, the loose hair is allowed to fall at the back, and then the end is looped and knotted,¹⁸⁸ or it is arranged in a top knot when the lady has a head dress.¹⁸⁹ In the third type, the falling hair down the back is divided into two halves, and that, too, further into tassels, and then plaited.¹⁹⁰ Men generally kept long hair tied in a top-knot around which the folds of the turban were arranged.¹⁹¹ The fashion of keeping plaited hair by the ladies, coiled round the head in a top knot, is also observed in sculptures¹⁹² In

183. II. 2 24 p. 424.1.

184. I.1.2 p. 17.18.

185. VI.1.9 p. 14.12.

186. I.3.1 p. 256.12.

187. VI.3.34 p. 152.27.

188. Barua: *Bhārhut*, Vol. III, pl. XXIII-top.

189. Ibid., pl. XXX, 23, left side.

190. Ibid., pl. XXXIX, 34.

191. Ibid., pl. XXX, 23.

192. Fergusson—op. cit. pl. XXX, fig. 1; XXXII, fig. 2.

some cases the hair is fastened by an ornament.¹⁹³ The ascetics, as usual, have long hair worn round the crown in a cone like fashion, or simply let loose, with their wavy beards.¹⁹⁴ Curly locks touching the neck are favourite with musicians, charioteers and soldiers.¹⁹⁵

A terracotta figurine of the Sunga period, now in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford,¹⁹⁶ is notable for its ornamental elaboration, and coiffure arrangement. The head dress of this figure is most attractive. The hair seems to be enclosed in a close fitting bonnet (or fillet) bordered from four rows of beads and terminating in two flower tassels. On each side of the bonnet are two turban like rolls of cloth, each bound with a belt and highly ornate. The left one, slightly bigger is made up of five vertical stripes with strings of beads at regular intervals; but the right one is embellished with six rows of flower ornament between which are strings of beads. There are five emblems stuck into the right side.

The arranging of hair needed oil, comb and mirror, while collyrium sticks, unguent vases, and pots were required for the make up of the face. Patañjali mentions *chandana*—sandal, *gandha*—perfume, and *añjana* or black pigment¹⁹⁷ applied to the eye lashes. There is no reference to the method of preparing cosmetics and their proper application. A few centuries later, Aśvaghoṣa refers to the pounding of ointments, and the application of *chandana* paste with the help of a stick (*patrāṅguli*),¹⁹⁸ which is also seen in a toilet scene depicted on a door jamb belonging to the Kushāna period.¹⁹⁹ Probably the same thing was done in this period as well. The use of comb was not unknown to the Indians, even at the time of the Mohenjo-daro civilisation, and a very fine ivory comb, rectangular in shape with teeth on both the sides, was found by Mackay at the western end of the long lane.²⁰⁰

193. Ibid., pl. XXXV, fig. 2.

194. Ibid., pl. XXV, fig. 1.

195. Ibid., pl. XXXIV, fig. 1.22.

196. JISOA. Vol. X, p. 941.

197. VIII.2.48. p. 408.23.

198. *Saundarananda* : IV.16.

199. Agrawala, V. S.; *Guide to the Lucknow Museum*, No. J.278.

200. *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p. 542.

Face Decoration :

Cunningham noticed²⁰¹ certain designs, probably tattooed, on the face of female figures, as for example, the sun and the moon and several types of flowers. An *aṃkuśa* or goad like mark is observed on the cheeks of a female bust figured, and the goddess Sirimā has a single star or flower on her left cheek bone. There are certain other figures which are more ornamented. These include one with a small bird or *triśūla* above each breast, another on the upper arm, an *aṃkuśa* or goad with two straight lines and a small flower on each cheekbone, besides two elaborate cheek ornaments. A third figure has the cheekbones decorated with the sun and the moon, and each cheek is covered with a dense mass of small ornaments. Cunningham contended on the basis of these marks that the Bhārhut culture should be associated with an aboriginal tribe called Kols. This is rather a far-fetched explanation. The Bhārhut culture is unconnected with that region and, secondly, it furnishes evidence of an advanced social organism. Tattooing is fairly common in India, and at one time it was encouraged even amongst high class ladies. In these figures, facial decorations were only of a temporary character, associated with the paint on the face.

Marriage and Position of Women :

A lawfully wedded wife is called *bhāryā* in the *Mahā-bhāshya* (*pāṇigrihītābhāryā*),²⁰² but a synonymous term *ūḍhā*²⁰³ is also mentioned. In another reference the former term is used for a *kshatriyā* married lady (*bhāryā nāma-kshatriyā*),²⁰⁴ but the appellation is too common, and its use cannot be restricted to denote ladies of any particular caste. Sometimes co-wives were also addressed as *bhāryās* (*katibhavato bhāryā iti*),²⁰⁵ which might suggest polygamy, but it was practised only under exceptional circumstances in Indian

201. op. cit. p. 39.

202. IV.1.52. p. 22.17.

203. I.1.1 p. 42.16.

204. III.1.112 p. 85.12.

205. II.2.25 p. 427.10.

society. The girls sometime had their choice in matrimony which was rather popular in the Regal class. Patañjali refers here to such a Brāhmaṇī girl (*kharur iyam Brāhmaṇī*).²⁰⁶ This may have been an exceptional case because marriages were generally arranged by parents who took into consideration the *gotra* and family of the other party. *Sagotra* marriage was not permissible, and one finds references to marital alliances between different *gotras*; the Atri with Bhāradvāja (*Ātribhārdvājikā*), Vasishtha and Kaśyapa (*Vasishthakaśyapikā*), Bhrigu and Arigirāsa (*Bhrigvaṁgirāsikā*), Garga Bhārgava (*Gargabhārgavikā*) and Kutsa and Kuśika (*Kutsakuśikā*).²⁰⁷ Despite the care taken by the parents to preserve purity and chastity through arranged marriages, there were occasional lapses, and the Bhāshyakāra refers to ladies who were not attached to any particular paramour, but were friendly with many (*naṭānām striyo raṅgaṁ gatā yo yaḥ prichchhati kasya yūyam kasya yūyam iti taṁ taṁ tava tava ity āhuḥ*),²⁰⁸ Patañjali also refers to unchaste girls (*udarīṇikanyā*),²⁰⁹ and her off-spring was called *kāṇina*.²¹⁰

After marriage the parties had certain conjugal rights and obligations towards each other. The relations between the husband and the wife were like the twisting of the rope (*pāṇi sargyā rajjuh*),²¹¹ and the wife clung to her lord in that spirit. Association with a woman during her periods was tabooed, and it was supposed that a woman drinking with one, who was in courses, got herself in menstrea (*ya kharveṇa pibati tasyai kharvastisro rātrih tasyā iti prāpte*).²¹² The *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛiti* have refrained a lady in courses even from looking at deities.²¹³ A pregnant lady (*garbhābhāryā*), and one having delivered the child (*prasūtabhāryā*)²¹⁴ or *sūtikā*²¹⁵

206. IV.1.44 p. 217.10.

207. II.4.62 p. 492.8f.

208. VI.1.2 p. 7.6.

209. V.2.94 p. 393.19.

210. IV.1.116 p. 258.2.

211. III.1.124 p. 88.7.

212. II.3.62 p. 466.10.

213. XIII.L.6067, *Manu*. XI. 171, 179.

214. VI.2.34 p. 150.3.

215. VII.3.45 p. 326.8.

needed special care. Though there is no reference to a *sūtikā-griha*, the place of child's delivery, one can hardly question the special arrangements which had to be made for that purpose. Ladies had freedom of movement, and there is no reference to the observance of *pardā*. They enjoyed the respect of their family members. Marshall refers²¹⁶ to the politeness of Indian manners in giving precedence to ladies over men in the Sāñchi gateway sculptures, especially in scenes of worship.

Pastime and Recreations :

The types and spheres of recreations varied, according to the sex and taste of the person, but there were some which were universally enjoyed. Patañjali mentions three terms which are more or less synonymous — *samāja*, *samāsa* and *samavāya*²¹⁷ meaning 'festive gathering'. Numerous items of entertainment, like music, dancing and acting figured there. Patañjali refers to the staging of the play of Kāṁsa and his slaughter and that of the binding of Bali. (*ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite pratyaksham Kāṁsam ghātayanti pratyaksham cha Balim bandhayanti iti*).²¹⁸ In these performances, besides the show, the speech of the narrator and dialogues were equally enjoyed. *yadārambhakā raṅgam gachchhanti naṭasya śroshyāmograntikasya śroshyāma iti*.²¹⁹ The actor used different types of head dresses (*sarvakeśin naṭaḥ*).²²⁰ The producer connected with the stage was known as *śobhanika*²²¹ (*śaubhika*), a term which according to the *Mahāvastu*,²²² denoted a magician. It is just possible that there was a display of magic on the stage, as the later work *Divyāvadāna*²²³ actually mentions three kinds of magic performances (*manojava*, *stambhanī* and *śikhī*).

Dancing was also practised with the movements of steps

216. *Sāñchi*—Vol. I. p. 259.

217. I.1.50 p. 123.3. *Pāṇini* refers to *samāja* (III.3.99) explained as a place where people flocked together. He also refers to *samavāya* (IV.4.43).

218. III.1.26 p. 36.15.

219. I.4.26 p. 329.8.

220. II.1.69 p. 403.22.

221. Op. cit.

222. Vol. III, p. 442.7.

223. pp. 53.22; 637.27; 636.20.

in a rhythmical manner, and the hands expressing themes through gestures. The art seems to be confined to ladies alone. Patañjali refers to female dancers (*ñartakikā*),²²⁴ and the Bhārhut sculptures show only ladies dancing. Five dancing scenes representing, probably, different forms are noticed.²²⁵ These include a wife wanting to please her husband, the accomplished nymphs and courtesans dancing to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music, a Nāga maiden dancing on the lifted hood of a Nāga rāja maintaining rhythm with wavy motions of his body, and lastly, dancing by a Nāga rāja. The references, quoted above, suggest the practice of dramatic art in both ways—dancing and acting. Keith places²²⁶ *Nāṭyāsāstra* in the third century A.D., but Pāṇini's reference to the *Naṭa-sūtras*²²⁷ testify to the practice of some form of dancing and acting even in his time. Patañjali refers in a simile to a peacock dancing towards his beloved (*priyām mayūraḥ pratinarnritīti yadval tvaṁ naravara narnritīshi hrishṭaḥ*).²²⁸ There is also a reference to troupe dancers or actors (*śailālino naṭaḥ*),²²⁹ who are noticed in an inscription²³⁰ of the Kushāṇa period (*śailā-lakas*). It is not certain if there were particular families of actors, or mobile companies visiting different places during his period.

Playing on vocal or instrumental music as a pastime was common. Certain gestures and postures in the Bhārhut sculptures²³¹ suggest vocal music. Patañjali mentions²³² some musical instruments—drum (*mridaṅga*), conch (*śaṅkha*), flute (*tūṇava*) and another instrument of the guitar type (*vīṇā*) having seven strings. One proficient in playing on *mridaṅga* was known as *mārdaṅgika* (*mridaṅga vādanam śilpam anyā mārdaṅgikah*),²³³ whom Pāṇini calls *maḍḍuka*. It is explained

224. VI.3.42 p. 158.16.

225. Barua—*Bhārhut*, figs. 95a, 34, 39, 69; XXX.27.

226. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 31.

227. IV.3.110.

228. VII.3.87 p. 338, 23-24.

229. IV.2.66 p. 286.18.

230. E.I. Vol. I. p. 390 No. 18.

231. Barua : *Op. cit.* figs. 34, 69, 136.

232. II.2.34 p. 435.11.

233. IV.4.55 p. 332.5.

in the *Kāśika* as *maḍḍukavādanam śilpam asya māḍḍukaḥ*),²³⁴ A tabor player is called *ḥarjḥara*. *Piṭhara*²³⁵ was a kind of 'saucepan for making musical sounds. Most of these instruments can be seen in the Bhārhut sculptures, and some were known even in Vedic times. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*²³⁶ enumerates the parts of a *vīṇā*—head or neck (*śiras*), cavity (*udara*), sounding board (*ambhaṇa*), string (*tantra*) and plectrum (*vādana*). There are quite a few scenes in the Bhārhut sculptures displaying these instruments. A harp of seven strings is being played in the bas-relief of the *Indrasālāguhā*, and the *Audabhūta jātaka* scenes,²³⁷ and a drum, two harps and a pair of cymbals can be seen in the famous dancing *apasaras scene*,²³⁸ while a stringed *vīṇā* in the hand of *Pañchaśikha*, the famous harper of Indra, is very conspicuous in another relief.²³⁹ Two kinds of drums—a smaller one beaten by the fingers, and a bigger one suspended from the neck and requiring drum sticks—are noticed in the heavenly dancing scenes.²⁴⁰ An Indian pipe, probably *tūṇava*, is also traced with a pair of cymbals.²⁴¹ The two kinds of drums were known as *mridaṅga* and *kinkiṇī*.²⁴²

Wrestling, walking and fire display were other items of recreations. The wrestling ground (*śālā*) attracted wrestlers (*malla*)²⁴³ but walking after meals (*bhuktva vrajati*),²⁴⁴ might have been a good exercise for old men. Display of fireworks (*alāta chakram*)²⁴⁵ was more enjoyed by children, but dice playing was a favourite pastime for elders, especially those who could afford to stake. Gamblers were known as *akshadyū*; and those playing with stakes of gold were called *hiranyadū*.²⁴⁶

234. p. 66.

235. IV.4.55 p. 332.6.

236. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II.316.

237. Cunningham : Op. cit. Pls. XXVIII 4; XXVI.4.

238. Ibid, Pl. XVI, fig. I and XV.1.

239. Barua, op. cit. fig. 56.

240. Ibid, pl. XVI. p. 91.

241. Barua : Op. cit. fig. 128; 8a and b.

242. *Saddh. Pund.* II.91. chap. III. p. 75.

243. III.4.47 p. 181.18.

244. VIII.1.7 p. 370.1.

245. III.2.124 p. 125.17.

246. I.4.2 p. 310.4.

Rogues or cheats in this game were common (*akshadhūrta*).²⁴⁷ Dice-playing has been a favourite pastime since the Vedic times,²⁴⁸ and continued to attract patrons, despite its consequences in all ages.²⁴⁹ Patañjali also notices another game called *śalākā* in which an unlucky throw was known as *śalākā-pari*²⁵⁰ in contrast to *akshapari* in the game of dice.

Social Evils :

Lack of enterprise and the desire to grow with very little effort (*iha hi sarve manushyā alpēna yatena mahato 'rthān ākāṅkshanti*),²⁵¹ generally prompted people to adopt underhand and foul means. There were evils like beggary (*dhanārtham bhikshāmahe*) or striving for women (*dārārtham ghaṭāmahe*).²⁵² The beggar was not satisfied with the first alms, but was anxious to accumulate (*bhikshuko 'yam dvitīyaṁ bhikshām āsādyā pūrvām na jahāti samchayāya pravartate*).²⁵³ Cheats (*pārśvakāh*)²⁵⁴ were anxious to secure money, but there were other social parasites like the abductor of women (*striki-tava*),²⁵⁵ or slayer of young boys (*kumāra ghātin*).²⁵⁶ The seducer even went to the extent of causing abortion (*bhrūṇa-hatyā*)²⁵⁷ with a view to hide his sins. These evils were not confined to men alone; women were equally responsible, may be, indirectly in certain cases. The prostitutes had their group at a conspicuous place (*gaṇikānām samūho gāṇikyām*).²⁵⁸ It is needless to she light on this institution which has had a long history. Garrulous people (*mukhara*)²⁵⁹ were not encouraged in society.

247. II.1.40 p. 390.26.

248. *Vedic Index*. Vol. I. p. 2.

249. *Vinaya* III. 47; *Millindopañhap*.114; *Mahāvastu*, Vol.III. 169etc.

250. II.1.16 p. 376.10.

251. II.1.69 p. 404.13.

252. II.1.5 p. 393.20.

253. II.1.1 p. 365.1.

254. V.2.76 p. 387.15.

255. II.1.40 p. 390.1.

256. III.2.84 p. 111.23.

257. VI.4.174 p. 234.11.

258. IV.2.40 p. 179.8.

259. V.9.107 p. 397.9.

Miscellaneous Items of Social Interest :

There are certain other items of social interest which refer to social etiquette or conventions, as for example, one should not bow to the ladies in return (*abhivāde strīvan mī*),²⁶⁰ or hands should be washed after touching fallen hair and nails (*loma nakhaṃ sprishtvā sauchaṃ kartavyam iti*),²⁶¹ and the daily needs of the body should be attended first (*puruṣo 'yam prātar utthāya yāny asya prati śarīraṃ kāryāṇi tāni tāvat karoti*).²⁶² These are minor matters which have hardly any value, except for a little interest.

We have noticed the social life of the period under study in all its aspects. The division of society into the usual groups, and the creation of new castes, with the different names given to offspring from mixed marriages, received first attention. Patañjali was aware of this social phenomenon which was not new to that period. He was, however, anxious to preserve the purity of the Brāhmaṇas, who, despite their families, continued to enjoy their position by birth in Hindu society. A few castes, especially the mixed ones, had some special functions attached to them. Family was a homogenous unit, consisting of blood relations, and the authority of the head was recognized. The standard of living can very well be judged by the data on food, dress and ornaments. We discussed these topics in detail. The household effects included domestic utensils needed for food preparation, and furniture. We also considered the problem of marriage, and the position of women, as noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The ladies seem to have enjoyed considerable freedom, as noticed in the sculptures. Pastime and recreations were many and universally enjoyed, such as theatrical performances accompanied with dancing and music. Different kinds of musical instruments, mentioned by Patañjali, are also noticed in the sculptures. The indoor recreations included the game of dice which was probably meant for old and rich people, who had time and money to spend in stakes. Social evils in a

260. I.1.1 p. 3.8.

261. I.1.4 p. 25.10.

262. I.1.57 p. 145.24.

progressive society were not unknown. The evidence, on the whole, suggests an advanced social organism with full opportunities for relaxation and entertainments, and despite some social evils, the people in general were religious in outlook.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC LIFE

The information furnished by the *Mahābhāshya* about the economic life of the people is copious. People seem to have been prosperous, their demands ever increasing, with a fair amount of planning in economic enterprise. There is, however, no reference to guilds, or union of persons with identical interests, but Patañjali mentions a good many economic professions. Land was, of course, the primary source of livelihood, but people were interested in other types of avocations as well. Perilous journeys—inland and overseas—were undertaken by traders pointing to the wide and varied sphere covered by the economic activities of the people. Several types of coins served as the medium of exchange and proper weights and measures ensured fuller satisfaction to the buyer. In this connection, it is interesting to mention the means of communication and transportation, with particular reference to the types of carriages, caravans, and other vehicles mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*.

Professions :

The economic occupations may be classified as follows : those relating to the artisan class, workers in metal, masons and architects, domestic servants, cooks and confectioners, wild professions, manual labourers and low professions. These exclude those relating to land, and merchandise which have to be considered separately.

(a) *Artisan class* : Patañjali refers to gve types of artisans in a village, popularly known as *Pañchakāruki*,¹ who, according to Uddyota, were *kulāla*—potter, *karmāra*—an artificer or blacksmith, *vardhakin*—carpenter, *nāpita*—barber, and *rajaka*, known as washerman. They are also noticed separately in the *Mahābhāshya*. The potter, whose profession dates back to the Vedic times,² made different kinds of pots out of a lump of clay (*piṇḍakrittīm upamridya ghaṭikā kriyante*³—‘anayor

1. I. 1.1.48 p. 118.4.

2. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 171 and refs.

3. I.1.1. p. 7.14.

mṛitipinḍayar ghaṭam kurvīti).⁴ He was also known as *kumbhakāra* or *mahākumbhakāra*⁵ with a bigger establishment. Pots were available in his house called *kumbhakāarakulam* (*ghaṭena kāryaṁ karishyan kumbhakāarakulam gatvā*).⁶ *Karmāra* was a mechanic, though the term sometimes suggested a blacksmith with an old standing.⁷ Patañjali distinguishes the two, and he mentions *ayaskāra*⁸ and *lohakāra*⁹ separately. They are classed as *śilpīn* who received daily wages, unlike the *dāsakarmakāra* working on food and clothing only (*bhaktam chelam cha*).¹⁰ The carpenter is specified by the term *vardhakin*, different from *takshan*, whose job—*takshakarman*¹¹ is mentioned by Patañjali. This profession also dates back to the Vedic period.¹² The *kaṭataksha*¹³ of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, unlike the *vardhakin*, worked at home on his own account and not for a village or corporation. His position is explained in the *Kāśikā*¹⁴ (*svatantraḥ karmajīvī na kasyachit pratibaddha ity arthaḥ*). *Nāpita*, the village barber, and *rajaka*, the washerman, were indispensable in the economic life of the village. It is probable that the latter was also dyeing clothes (*rañjayati vastrāṇi*).¹⁵

(b) *Workers in Metal*: These included goldsmiths, popularly known as *suvarṇakāra*¹⁶ who could make different kinds of ornaments out of a lump of gold (*suvarṇam kayāchid ākrityā yuktam pinḍo bhavati*).¹⁷ This profession seems to be in a flourishing condition in that period, as we find profuse use of ornaments in sculptures. The blacksmith, known as

4. VI.1.84 p. 57.2.

5. III.1.92 p. 75.13, 22.

6. I.1.1 p. 7.28.

7. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 140 and refs.

8. VI.3.116 p. 172.11.

9. IV.1.58 p. 264.9.

10. III.1.26 p. 36.4.

11. II.1.1 p. 364.16.

12. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 297 and refs.

13. V.4.95.

14. p. 476.

15. VI.2.24 p. 194.21.

16. I.3.27 p. 281.9.

17. I.1.1 p. 7.14.

lohakāra, or *ayasakāra*, is mentioned separately by Patañjali. He was engaged in making things of domestic use, like needles used for sewing clothes (*tīkṣṇayā sūchyā sīvyān*); and arms (*tīkṣṇena paraśunā vriśchan*).¹⁸ There is no reference to silversmith or *rajatakāra*, and coppersmith (*tāmra-kutṭa*) in the *Mahābhāshya* but their existence in the economic life need not be questioned.

(c) *Masons and Architects*: To this profession belonged the *nagarkāra*,¹⁹ or the city architect who probably supervised the construction of buildings, or actually took part in laying bricks, as one finds in the Jetavana monastery scene in Bhārhut sculptures,²⁰ where the foundation is filled with golden pieces. Patañjali also refers to the *kūpa-khānaka*, or well-digger, bestrewed with dust in the process of digging and removing earth (*kūpakhānakaḥ kūpam khaṇan yadyapi mrida pāṁśubhiś cha avakīrṇo bhavati*).²¹

(d) *Domestic servants*: These were generally engaged by rich people and included *dāsakarmakāra* who was engaged on food and clothing (*dasakarmakāra namaite' pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante bhaktam chelam cha lapsyāmahe*).²² *Kīṁkarā*²³ was a female servant, probably required for household work. Some others were needed for domestic purposes, as for example, *dvārapālā*—porter, *chattradhāra*—canopy-holder, *bhāravāha*²⁴—a carrier or porter, *ghaṭagrāha*²⁵—the water bearer or carrier, and *bhrāśṭramindha*²⁶—the frier or cook, who sometimes kept his own shop, and provided fried things.

(e) *Cooks and Confectioners*: These included the frier, working in his independent capacity and selling fried barley (*bharuja*)²⁷ or grain. The confectioners sold articles of daily consumption with reference to drinks and cakes. The *māthi-*

18. II.1.2 p. 275.20.

19. I.1.39 p. 97.8.

20. Cunningham: *Bhārhut*, Pl. XXVIII.

21. I.1.1 p. 11.7.

22. III.1.26 p. 36.3.

23. III.2.21 p. 101.10.

24. III.2.1 p. 94.8.10.

25. III.2.9 p. 99.15.

26. VII.3.70 p. 168.4.

27. I.1.47 p. 115.10.

tika—selling whey (*mathitam paṇyam asya māthitika*),²⁸ and *apūpika*²⁹—dealing in baked cakes or pasteries called *śashkuli*, and *maudakika*³⁰ in sweet could be particularised in this group. These professions were not identical. According to the *Mahāvastu*,³¹ the sweet-meat dealers (*modakārākāḥ*) and curd makers (*dādhikāḥ*) had separate guilds (*śreṇi*). Certain other professions, connected with food, were those of grinders of food grain (*śaktukīra*), and winnowers of grain (*taṇḍulika*).³² The former is only indirectly referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*,³³ but the profession was very important and had a guild of its own in later times.³⁴

(f) *Wild professions* : Though not actually wild in nature, this group included professions like those of fishermen (*nishāda*),³⁵ also called *kaivarta* or ferrymen (*nishādo mārgavaṇi sūte dāsaṁ naukarma jīvinam*);³⁶ fowlers (*śākunika*)³⁷ and certain others—*śākulika* *mātsyika* *mainika* and *śāphārika*³⁸—all meaning fishermen. The *mainika* was so called, because he was engaged in catching fishes (*mīnān hanti mainikāḥ*). These professions are noticed in earlier³⁹ and later literature.⁴⁰

(g) *Low Professions* : The low professions, included those of the mat maker who fastened together through string, wooden pegs and straw (*saṁnaddhaṁ rajjukīlaka pūlapāṇim*),⁴¹ weaver (*tantuvāya*) who could make cloth from threads (*asya sūtrasya śāṭakam vayeti*),⁴² and hair weaver (*vālavāya*).⁴³ Another

28. VI.3.35 p. 155.23.

29. IV.1.85 p. 237.13.

30. IV.2.39 p. 209.7.

31. Vol. III. p. 442.

32. V.2.115 p. 398.8.

33. III.3.126 p. 156.21.

34. E.I. Vol. XXI. p. 55.

35. V. 4.30 p. 435.8.

36. *Manu*, X.34.

37. I.1.2 p. 21.27.

38. I.1.68 p. 177.15.

39. *Nikāyas-Sam.* II.256; *Ang.* III.303 etc.

40. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II p. 241; *Milindapañha* p. 311.

41. II.1.7 p. 14.20.

42. I.1.45 p. 112.10.

43. IV.3.84 p. 313.2.

term *sāmmātra*,⁴⁴ meaning 'a measurer's son', appears to be of an administrative nature having nothing to do with any economic profession.

It is difficult to make a cut and dried classification of the economic professions. There were certainly many more than are actually mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*. One can hardly deny that some of these had their guilds or corporate organisations which existed in earlier times and are also traced in later literature.⁴⁵

Agriculture and Husbandry :

Agricultural process has hardly undergone any change, despite political changes through the ages. The data furnished by the *Mahābhāshya* might not suggest innovations, but some interesting details are worth mentioning, as for instance, different types of land, method of sowing, agricultural implements, seeds and crops, grain storage and other miscellaneous items. Husbandry, allied to agriculture, may also be considered here.

(a) *Agricultural holdings* : The arable land was called *kshetra*,⁴⁶ an old Vedic term pointing to the existence of individual fields, carefully measured off, and fit for cultivation.⁴⁷ Another word, mentioned by Patañjali is *kedāra*,⁴⁸ noticed earlier in the *Ashtādhyāyī*⁴⁹ which was a field under water, as suggested by Manu.⁵⁰ The *Sūtrakāra* distinguishes barren land (*ūshara*) from pasture land (*gochara*)⁵¹ but Patañjali has mentioned only the latter one. The area brought under cultivation was known as *halyā* or *śityā*.⁵² The ordinary cultivator or agriculturist was called *lāṅgalagraha*.⁵³ The *Bhāshya*-

44. IV.1.115 p. 257.17.

45. cf. *Jāt.* VI.22, 427; *Vin.* IV 226; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. III. p. 442 etc.

46. II.3.19 p. 453.1.

47. R.V.X. 33.6; 110.5; I.100.18 etc.

48. III.1.87 p. 67.19.

49. IV.2.42.

50. IX.38.

51. III.3.119.

52. I.1.72 p. 186.12.

53. III.29 p. 99.13.

kāra also refers to the general desire for good fields (*sukshe-triyā*).⁵⁴ The *Mahābhāshya* also mentions the employment of agricultural labour, which enabled the cultivator to relax himself, and do only supervision work (*ekānte tūshñim āsina uchayate pañchabhir halaiḥ krishati iti*).⁵⁵

(b) *Preparation and methods of sowing*: Before the actual sowing of the seed, the field was properly ploughed. This was done through oxen, which were also used in carts (*gotaro 'yam yaḥ śakaṭam vahati sīram cha*).⁵⁶ The plough was called *sīra*. The stumps in the ground were weeded out by a hoe, known as *stambaghna*.⁵⁷ It was necessary to remove the weeds (*triṇa*), thorns and stones, before the actual ploughing of the land. The required number of ploughs depended on the fertility of the land, and its dimensions; the maximum noticed in the *Mahābhāshya* is five (*pañchabhir halaiḥ*). After the ploughing of the land, the next stage was the sowing of the seeds, which naturally varied according to crops and seasons. Pāṇini refers to different types of fields according to crops, as for example, a barley field was called *yavayam* (*yavānām bhavanam kshetram yavyam*), that of beans (*māshyam*), and sesamum (*tilyam*).⁵⁸ Patañjali does not distinguish them. As regards the required quantity of seeds for sowing, the *Kāśikā* refers to *prāsthikam*, *drauṇikam* and *khārikam*⁵⁹ fields, that is, those requiring one *prastha droṇa* or *khāri* weights of seed; but according to Patañjali, there were fields requiring a hundred *khāri* (*khāraśatika*) or a thousand worth of seeds (*khāra-sahasrika*).⁶⁰ Sesamum (*tila*) and beans (*māsha*) were mixed together in the process of sowing (*tilaiḥ saha māshān vapati iti*).⁶¹ It was also customary to sow seeds on an auspicious day (*āśvayujī Purnamāsī*),⁶² though this fact is not mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*.

54. VII.1.39 p. 256.24.

55. III.1.26 p. 33.22.

56. V.3.35 p. 413.17.

57. III.3.83 p. 151.8.

58. V.2.3-4. *Kāśikā* p. 405.

59. V.1.45 p. 389.

60. V.1.58 p. 353.23.

61. II.3.19 p. 452.23.

62. IV.3.45, *Kāśikā* p. 333.

After the sowing of the seeds, periodical supply of water was required for the fields. This was done through canals *śālyārtham kulyāḥ Prañīyante*),⁶³ as it was not unusual to expect drought in that village (*vigataḥ sechakā asmād grāmād viśechako grāmaḥ*).⁶⁴ The crop was expected to be good, if there was adequate rainfall (*devāśched vrishto nishpannaḥ śālayaḥ*).⁶⁵

Ripening and Reaping :

Some crops ripened early, but others took time. Beans ripened quickly (*pachelimā māshāḥ*),⁶⁶ but another type took sixty days (*mudgā api shashtīrātrena pachyante*).⁶⁷ The standing crop also needed protection from animals, as well as from robbers. Danger was apprehended for the barley crop from deer (*na cha mrigāḥ sanlīli yavā noppyante*),⁶⁸ and so there was the need for an observer (*chāvaka*).⁶⁹ A shadow figure, made of straw (*chanchabhirūpaḥ*),⁷⁰ was placed in the field to frighten crows and birds, causing destruction to crops. Other dangers were from mole (*ākhu*), locust (*śalabha*) and hawk (*śyena*).⁷¹ When the crop was ready, reaping or cutting (*lavana*) with a sickle (*dātra*)⁷² was the next step. The reaper was called *lāvaka*⁷³ probably an agricultural labourer employed on terms which are not mentioned, but, probably, receiving about 1/16 of the produce as his share. The over-ripened grain, requiring immediate attention is alluded to in the Pāṇinian rule III.1.125 by the word *lavya*. Patañjali mentions *avaśya-lāvyam* and *avaśyapāvyam*,⁷⁴ probably, in a different sense. Reaping and mowing seem to be connected. After the cutting

63. I.1.23 p. 82.5.

64. I.4.60 p. 342.12.

65. III.3.133 p. 159.23.

66. III.1.96 p. 81.17.

67. V.1.90 p. 360.3.

68. I.1.39 p. 100.1.

69. I.1.3 p. 46.12.

70. I.2.52 p. 229.5.

71. III.2.4 p. 98.3.

72. II.1.32 p. 386.7.

73. I.1.3 p. 46.12.

74. III.1.125 p. 88.19.

of the standing crop, the produce was stored on the threshing floor (*khala*)⁷⁵ for being mowed, which was followed by another process called *nishpāva*.⁷⁶ A winnowing fan (*śūrpā*)⁷⁷ was used by the winnower (*taṇḍulika*) who might have been an agricultural labourer, employed for the purpose of separating the grain from the chaff. Farmers kept their threshing floors closeby in mutual interest.

Storing :

The grain was separated from the chaff, and stored in a granary, called *koshṭha* or *kuśūla*.⁷⁸ Both Pāṇini and Patañjali mention these agricultural operations with little difference in expression. The latter, in his comment on the *tishṭhadgvādi* sūtra, refers to *khaleyavam khalebusam lūnayavam lūyamānayavam pūtayavam pūyamānayavam*.⁷⁹ In sequence of time, during the performance of these operations, *lūnayavam* should come first, and the compound indicates the time when barley was reaped, or was in the process of being reaped (*lūyamānayavam*). The second compound, mentioned as first, suggests the storing of the barley crop, or barley straw (*khalebusam*, on the threshing floor; and lastly the separation of the corn from the straw already done, or in the process of being done (*pūtayavam pūyamānayavam*).

Grain was stored in jars, and a person, so doing for a specific period, was called *kumbhīdhānya*.⁸⁰ A good crop was an indication of the prosperous time ahead which could be found out from a single grain of rice (*eko vṛihīḥ sāmpannaḥ subhikshaṁ karoti*).⁸¹ Certain crops were associated with definite parts of the country, as for example, barley was particularly grow in the lands of Uśīnara and Madra (*Uśīnaravanmadreshu yavaḥ*)⁸² and Magadha was famous for śāli or rice (*tān eva*

75. II.1.17 p. 381.6.

76. I.3.10 p. 269.12.

77. III.3.20 p. 146.10.

78. I.2.45 p. 220.1.

79. II.1.17 p. 381.6.7.

80. I.3.7 p. 264.2.

81. I.2.58 p. 230.4.

82. I.1.57 p. 147.15.

śālin bhuñjāmahe ye magadheshu).⁸³

Other Crops :

Besides barley, rice, pulses, and sesamum, which may be called *krishṭapachyā*—ripening in arable land, there were other crops depending exclusively on nature without human enterprise (*akrishṭapachyā*).⁸⁴ The latter class, probably, included *nīvāra*—wild rice which is not mentioned by Patañjali, but is referred to by Aśvaghosha,⁸⁵ as the only food for ascetics. Sugar cane (*ikshu*),⁸⁶ cotton (*kārpāsa*)⁸⁷ flax (*umā*), and hemp (*bhaṅga*)⁸⁸ were also grown.

Husbandry :

This economic undertaking is associated with land. The person, rearing or in charge of cattle, was known as *gopa* or *gopāla* in the Vedic period.⁸⁹ These terms indicate that only cows were reared for milking purpose. The *Mahābhāshya* provides details regarding different kinds of cows, the method of controlling them when they were out for grazing, and their *śālās* or stables. *Gopālaka*⁹⁰ and *govallava*,⁹¹ probably synonymous, are mentioned by Patañjali. One possessing brindled cows was known as *chitrāgu*, and the owner of mottled ones was called *śabalagu*.⁹² *Paśupālikā* or *gopālikā*⁹³ are the two words suggesting women tending cows. The keeper controlled them through a staff (*goyūtham daṇḍa pragrahaṭṭitam sarvaṁ samam ghosham gachchhati*).⁹⁴ There are also references to cow stable (*gogoshṭham gavām sthānam*), and sheep stable

83. I.1.2 p. 19.6.

84. III.1.114 p. 86.25.

85. *Saundarananda*, 1.10.

86. V.2.29 p. 376.17.

87. V.1.2 p. 337.4.

88. V.4.29 p. 376.12.

89. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 232.

90. I.1.23 p. 80.14.

91. VI.2.52 p. 131.12.

92. II.1.51 p. 394.3.

93. IV.2.78 p. 217.12.

94. IV.2.20 p. 287.10.

(*avigoshtham*Q.⁹⁵ A flock of sheep was known as *avikaṭa*, and the owner was required to pay tribute or tax consisting of a ram to the king which was called *avikaṭoraṇa*.⁹⁶ *Gomaṇḍala*⁹⁷ is used to denote the herd of cows, and *goprapadnīyam*⁹⁸ indicated the time of their returning home. Patañjali mentions *gopa* as a special *jāti*⁹⁹ or class. There is no reference to the time of milking cows, nor to the duties of the *gopa* who was expected to look after the scattered cows, and to prevent them from trespassing upon cornfields, as are noticed by Aśvaghoṣa.¹⁰⁰

Merchandise :

This aspect of economic life necessitates consideration of the data relating to the sale of goods, trade stipulations, if any, vendible commodities, earnest money and consideration, shops and markets import and export of trade, sale of prohibited articles and medium of exchange and barter. The general rule of conduct in business transactions is suggested by the word *vyavahāra*¹⁰¹ signifying a contract, but it is better to take its usage in a general sense. *Panya*¹⁰² is the proper word for a vendible article. The market place was called *āpaṇa*,¹⁰³ and the dealer was known as *ā-panīka*.¹⁰⁴ Generally the merchants were named after the things exposed by them for sale, as for instance, a perfume seller was called *sugandhāpanīka*. Pāṇini mentions traders, deriving their professional designations from the places visited by them (*gantavyapanyam vāṇija*).¹⁰⁵ Another word, probably suggesting a market place, is *saṁvāha*.¹⁰⁶ Since it is associated with *grāma*, *bhoṣha* and *nagara*,

95. V.2.29 p. 376.14, 21.

96. VI.3.10 p. 144.23.

97. I.2.58 p. 230.18.

98. V.1.111 p. 362.15.

99. III.1.31 p. 41.12.

100. *Saundarananda*, XIV. 41; IX.42. XVI.50.

101. V.3.67 p. 420.13.

102. V.3.83 p. 425.18.

103. IV.2.104 p. 295.16.

104. V.4.135 p. 443.12.

105. VI.2.13.

106. II.4.10 p. 475.5.

one is not very sure about its correct meaning. The business men had shops, facing the main street, as appears from an indirect reference (*atha yadā anena rathyāyām taṇḍulodakam dṛiṣṭah*).¹⁰⁷ There was a closer link between the village and the town for commercial purposes (*loke 'dhikrito 'sau grāme 'dhikrito 'sau nagara iti uchyate yo yatra vyāpāram gach-chati*).¹⁰⁸

Trade Stipulations :

The display of an article made it vendible (*krayya*).¹⁰⁹ The standard of quality was also ensured, as for example, a woollen blanket conformed to the set standard (*paṇyakambala*).¹¹⁰ Negotiations necessary between the vendor and the vendee were called *paṇitavyah*,¹¹¹ and the price, fixed in terms of coins or other things, actually fluctuated with the demand and supply, as well as with the quality of the thing. The *Mahābhāshya* mentions the sale of rice (*dhānya*) for two droṇas (*dvidroṇena dhānyam kṛṇāti*), cattle for five droṇas (*pañchakena paśūn kṛṇāti*), and rice again for two gold pieces (*dvidroṇena hiraṇyena dhānyam kṛṇāti*).¹¹² Things were also sold by weight, as suggested by the word *dviśūrpam*, that is, containing two *śūrpas*, or winnowing baskets with reference to purchases (*dvābhyām śūrpābhyām kṛtām dviśūrpam*).¹¹³ A transaction was completed (*satyāpayati*)¹¹⁴ with the payment of the earnest money (*satyamkāra*)¹¹⁵ to the seller. There is no reference to the inspection of goods in the *Mahābhāshya*, as we notice in a later work.¹¹⁶ Probably it was a formal affair, preceding the opening of negotiations which were arranged through a middle man. His share is hinted by the word *vasna*,

107. III.2.115 p. 120.13.

108. I.3.11 p. 271.23.

109. VI.1.82 p. 55.5.

110. VI.2.42 p. 126.14.

111. Ibid. 12.

112. II.2.18 p. 452.5f.

113. V.1.20 p. 346.4.

114. III.1.25 p. 30.22.

115. VI.3.70 p. 167.17.

116. *Milindapañha*, p. 194.18.

used in Vedic literature¹¹⁷ in the sense of 'price paid for any-thing', or 'its value', or 'the thing as an object of purchase' or 'ware'. Its implication is considered by Pāṇini in three Sūtras which suggest 'value' or 'sale price realised', as its meaning. In the first Sūtra *vasnakrayavikrayātṭhan*,¹¹⁸ *vasnika* is distinguished from *krayika* or *vikrayika*; the former, according to the *Kāśikā*,¹¹⁹ depended on *vasna* for his living (*vasnena jīvati*). It appears that *vasnika* was, probably, a broker or an agent, who brought about the deal between the vendor and the vendee; and, when the sale price was realised, he was entitled to his share which varied according to the proceeds of the sale. The presence of the third party in a transaction ensured security to the seller for his money, and to the buyer for the quality of goods purchased.

'Articles of Trade :

Vendible articles were many including the imported ones. Besides his own produce, the vendor also displayed for sale other things connected with his trade. It would mean a long list to enumerate them, but the important ones excluding the food products may be mentioned here, as for instance, fabrics of silk (*kaśeya*),¹²⁰ wool (*ūrṇa*),¹²¹ flax (*umā*), hemp (*bhaṅga*),¹²² cotton (*kārpāśa*),¹²³ cloth (*vastra*),¹²⁴ blankets of a set standard (*paṇya kambala*),¹²⁵ white woollen garment (*pāṇḍu kambala*),¹²⁶ deer skin (*ajina*),¹²⁷ dye stuff (*rāga*),¹²⁸ and sandals and shoes (*aupānahyaṁ dāruaupānahyaṁ charma*).¹²⁹ Other vendible things (needed for professional or

117. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 278.

118. IV.4.13.

119. P. 359.

120. IV.3.42 p. 309.3.

121. V.1.3 p. 938.13.

122. V.2.4 p. 372.20.

123. IV.1.55 p. 224.13.

124. I.1.11 p. 67.22.

125. I.2.42 p. 125.18.

126. *ibid* 5.

127. VI.2.106 p. 133.8.

128. VI.3.99 p. 173.13.

129. V.1.2 p. 337.7.

domestic use were : iron chains for binding (*śrīṅkhalā*),¹³⁰ agricultural implements, like, sickle (*dātra*)¹³¹ and pottery utensils for storing ghee which were available at the house of the potter.¹³² Intoxicating drinks were sold in bars (*śuṇḍā*),¹³³ and articles of perfumery (*gandha*)¹³⁴ and garland (*mālā*)¹³⁵ were available either in shops or on streets from vendors. Weights (*māna*) and measures (*parimāṇ*),¹³⁶ vehicles of communication like cart (*śakaṭa*), chariot (*ratha*), and boat (*nau*)¹³⁷ were also vendible. Even gold images did not escape the greed of the Mauryas, who were anxious to get money out of them, despite their sacred character, as noticed in Patañjali's comment on the sūtra *Jīvikārthe chāpaṇye (Mauriyair hiraṇyārthibhir archā prakalpitaḥ)*.¹³⁸ Such a thing might have been done under exceptional circumstances, but one can hardly deny that payments had to be made for gold images. Even now idols can be purchased, but once they are set up in a temple their sacred character cannot be violated, and a Brāhmaṇa would prefer to starve rather than part with his idol. Patañjali has not commented on the sūtra *Gaṇṭavya-panyam vāṇije* (VI.2.13) which is illustrated in the *Kāśikā* by merchants dealing in cows and bulls (*govāṇijāḥ*) and horse (*aśva vāṇijāḥ*).¹³⁹ Ornaments and musical instruments were probably made to order, and some were probably displayed in the shop windows. The sale of certain articles was prohibited, as for example, beef could not be sold, nor was the sale of sesamum allowed, but that of mustard oil was permitted (*yathā tarhi tailam na vikretavyam māṃsam na vikretavyam iti vy-apavriktas cha na vikrīyate 'vy apavriktam cha gāvaś cha sarśapās cha vigrīyante*).¹⁴⁰

130. V.2.79 p. 388.11.

131. II.1.32 p. 386.6.

132. I.1.1 p. 7.28.

133. V.3.88 p. 427.3.

134. V.4.135 p. 443.11.

135. I.1.9 p. 63.10.

136. V.1.19 p. 344.5,7 etc.

137. IV.1.78 p. 232.23.

138. V.3.99 p. 429.3.

139. p. 541.

140. I.1.4 p. 25.9-10.

Exchange and Barter :

An organised planning in the economic field could only be possible through a medium of exchange, so that people could have complete satisfaction in their requirements. In certain cases barter was also possible, as in the rural economy, where one product was exchanged for another. The thing given in change was called *nimāna*,¹⁴¹ and one received for it, *nimeya*.¹⁴² Commenting on the sūtra-*Saṃkhyāyā guṇasya nimāne mayaḥ* (V-2-47), which refers to the affixing of *mayāḥ* to numerals standing for the value of some part of a thing denoting another thing, Patañjali refers to the guiding principle in all barter transactions, namely, the invariable nature of the ratio. The valuation was determined on the basis of one portion of *nimeya* (the thing to be brought) with several portions of *nimāna* (the thing to be given in exchange). It is inapplicable in the case of *dvau yavānām traya udaśvit iti*,¹⁴³ nor can the ratio apply to fractions, but only to an integral number, as for example, its inapplicability in the illustration—*dvau bhāgau yavānām adhyardha udaśvitah*.¹⁴⁴ The comparative value of the thing has to be taken into consideration for the application of the *mayāḥ* affix, like, *dvimayā yavā udaśvitah*¹⁴⁵ which suggests that the exchange value of *udaśvit* was twice as much as that of a *yava*. The *mayāḥ* affix also indicates time or fold—as *dvimayā*,¹⁴⁶ sometimes qualifying the *nimāna* and sometimes the *nimeya*.

Barter transactions at that time were not confined to ordinary things of human need, but the principle extended even to bigger transactions. Both Pāṇini and Patañjali, have referred to *vasanārṇam* and *kambalārṇam*¹⁴⁷ pointing to the loan for a cloth of standard size, or that for a blanket of standard quality. The transactions relating to purchase and sale of animals were also arranged through barter, as for instance,

141. V.2.47 p. 382.13.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid 2.

144. *Kāśikā* p. 418.

145. Ibid.

146. V.2.47 p. 382.13.

147. VI.1.89 p. 69.19.

*pañchabhir gobhiḥ kṛitaiḥ pañchayuh.*¹⁴⁸ One also finds a curious illustration of the purchase of a chariot for five *krosh-kṛitaiḥ rathih pañchakroshtribhī rathirr iti*).¹⁴⁹ It is difficult to assess the value of a female jackal, unless the word *kroshṭri* meant something valuable to be given in barter for a chariot. There are also references to measures of capacity which, when used in barter, had affixes denoting quantity, as for example, *dvi-śūrpa* or *tri-śūrpa*.¹⁵⁰ Patañjali refers to three persons in a transaction—the person who gives, the other who takes, and the third who watches the transaction (*tribhiḥ sākshād drishṭam bhavati yaś cha dadāti yasmai cha diyate yaś cha upadrashṭā*).¹⁵¹

Coinage :

The comment on the Ārhiya section¹⁵² refers to different types of coins. Most of these were in use in that period, and some could trace their origin to the Vedic times. The need for coins of different denominations and metals was to meet the economic pressure. Those mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya* include : *nishka*, *śatamāna*, *suvarṇa*, *śāṇa*, *kārshāpaṇa* with its lower denominations—*ardha* or half, *pāda*—a quarter, *māsha* with still lower denominations—*ardhamāsha*, *kākinī* and *ardhakākinī*; and *rūpa* which may have been a coin or a figure or symbol stamped on a coin. The value of *nishka*, a gold coin with a long history,¹⁵³ was never uniform. It equalled a *dināra*, of 32 small or 16 large *rattis*, or a *kārsha* or *suvarṇa* of 16 *māshas*, or a *pala* of 4 or 5 *suvarṇas*, or a large *pala* or *dināra*, variously reckoned at 108 or 150 *suvarṇas* or *māshas* or 16 drammas. It was also a weight of silver of 4 *suvarṇas*.¹⁵⁴

148. 1.2.44 p. 216.14.

149. VII.1.96 p. 2173.15.

150. V.1.37 p. 350.23.

151. V.2.91 p. 389.14.

152. Ref. *Siddhanta Kaumudi*, Chap. XXXIII—for the collection of the *Sūtras* on 'Ārhiya' affixes.

153. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 454 and refs.

154. *Manu* VIII. 137; Cf. Monier-Williams : *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* p. 562, Col. 2.

Patañjali uses the word *naishkika* in the sense of deserving a *nishka*, as for instance, one deserving a hundred was called *śatikah* and a thousand *sāhasrah*.¹⁵⁵ The individual wealth was also reckoned in terms of this coin (*na hi nishkadhanah śatanishkadhanena spardhate*).¹⁵⁶ The quarter, known as *pādanishka*¹⁵⁷ is also mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*.

The next coin *śatamāna* is noticed by Patañjali in his comment on the *sūtra vibhāsha kārashā pañasahasrābhyām*,¹⁵⁸ which refers to the optional elision of *luk* after the words *kārshāpaṇa* and *sahasra*. *Suvarṇa* and *śatamāna* are also added when they are preceded by *adhyardha*, or they are members of a *dvigu* compound: like, *adhyardhaśatamānam*, *dviśatamānam*. The metal or value of this coin is not known, but, according to Manu,¹⁵⁹ it was a denomination of silver (*śatamānas tu rajataḥ*). The position of *suvarṇa*, mentioned in the same context, is equally doubtful. It was a coin, as well as a denomination of weight equal to 80 *guṇjas* or 146 grains, according to Kautilya;¹⁶⁰ and required an additional *kākiṇī* (one fourth *masha*, metal, to be added to it, as against loss in manufacture. In the time of Manu, a *suvarṇa* was one-fourth of a *nishka* (*chatuḥ suvarṇako nishko vijñeyas tu pramāṇataḥ*).¹⁶¹

A coin of lower denomination in ratio to *śatamāna* was *śāṇa*¹⁶² which, according to the evidence of the *Mahābhāshya*, was 1/8 of the latter (*aṣṭau śāṇaḥ śatamānam vahanti*).¹⁶³ It appears that *nishka* and *suvarṇa* were gold coins, while *śatamāna* and *śāṇa* were probably of silver, as suggested by Manu. The copper coins in circulation were of different denominations.

Kārshāpaṇa was the most popular coin of different values. It was, probably, the standard money and its denominational value was implied in phrases like *śatena krītaṁ śatyam śātaka-*

155. V.1.19 p. 344.19.

156. V.3.55 p. 414.2.

157. VI.3.56 p. 163.9.

158. V.1.29 p. 349.7-8.

159. VIII.137.

160. *Arthaśāstra* (Trans.) p. 90.

161. Op. cit.

162. V.1.35 p. 7-8.

163. III.10665.

*śatam iti*¹⁶⁴ and *aikādaśam śatasahasram iti*.¹⁶⁵ According to Manu, was synonymous with *pañā* (*kārshāpañas tu vijñēyas tāmrikah kārshikah pañah*).¹⁶⁶ Its other name is *prati* or *pratika*, meaning 'purchased of a *kārshāpañā*' (*kārshāpañikah kārshāpañiki pratikah pratikī*).¹⁶⁷ The metal of this coin was not only copper, as mentioned by Manu, but it could also be of silver,¹⁶⁸ or black metal (iron or lead).¹⁶⁹ Its value or weight differed according to the nature of the metal (if of gold 16 *māshas*, silver 16 *pañas*; and copper 80 *raktikas* or 176 grains).¹⁷⁰ Numismatics use this term to denote Punch-marked coins. Its lower denominations were—*ardha kārshāpañā*,¹⁷¹ and *pāda*,¹⁷² the quarter one which was distinct from a *pāda-nishka*.¹⁷³ *Kauṭilya*¹⁷⁴ also mentions a token coin—*ashṭa-bhāga*—1/8 of a *kārshāpañā* in value. Cunningham suggested¹⁷⁵ that the tail-end of the *kārshāpañā* coins was limited to half and quarter size only.

Māsha, as a *parimāṇa* or weight,¹⁷⁶ is distinguished from the type of pulse known by that name, and it is associated with *aksha* and *pāda*, the two other words denoting measures. *Kauṭilya* has classed¹⁷⁷ it as a copper coin, being 1/16 of a *kārshāpañā* in value, with its lower denominations—*ardhamāsha* which is also noticed in the *Jātakas*.¹⁷⁸ There were still lower denominations like *kākiṇī* and *ardhakākiṇī*. The latter is not directly referred to in the *Mahābhāshya*, but its use can be inferred from the reference to *adhyardhakākākiṇīkam*,¹⁷⁹ that is, one and

164. V.1.21 p. 346.8.

165. V.2.45 p. 380.17.

166. VIII.136.

167. V.1.24 p. 347.19-20.

168. *Majh. Nikāya* II. II. 163; *Ang. Nikāya* 1.250.169. *Dhammapada Commentary* (P.T.S.) III.254.

170. Monier Williams—Op. cit. p. 276 Col. 3.

171. V.1.25 p. 347.18.

172. I.3.72 p. 293.5.

173. VI.3.56 p. 163.49.

174. Op. cit. p. 84.

175. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 46.

176. I.2.45 p. 220.2.

177. Op. cit. p. 84.

178. III.448.

179. V.1.30 p. 350, 2.4.

a half *kākinī*. Rhys-Davids suggested¹⁸⁰ that the monetary value of a *kākanikā* may be guessed at being 1/8 of a *kahā-pana*, as it occurs in a descending order where each succeeding coin marks half the value of the preceding one, that is, *kahā-pana*, *aḍḍha*, *pāda*, *māsaka*, *kākanikā*, followed by *mudhā* 'for nothing'. It appears that these lower denominations were both coins and weights.

The finds of silver and copper punch-marked coins have testified to the use of these coins, and the correctness of their weight as recorded in literature; but the total absence of gold coins is a strange phenomenon. These silver and copper coins are classified by Allan,¹⁸¹ and class 2 coins of his catalogue are 1/2 *kārshāpana* of an Indian standard, the usual weight varying between 25 and 26 grains; but those of class 3, presumably from a different part of India, are 2-3 grains higher than coins belonging to the preceding class. A single and double *kārshāpana* coins, belonging to class IV type are not generalized for want of adequate specimens. The quarter *kārshāpanas*, known as *pādika*, are of a heavier standard weighing 14.4 and 14.9 grains, a slightly above Cunningham's theoretical *pādika* of 14.4 grains. He contended that the greater majority of silver coins of Ancient India were full *kārshāpanas*, halves and quarters being much rarer. Very small square coins (class 9), weighing from 2-3 grains are 1/16 *kārshāpanas* or *krishāṇalas*. Allan found it difficult to generalize on the basis of their weights, as they are not struck or cast so carefully, and secondly because of their depreciation in course of time; but attempt was made in this direction by Durga Prasad.¹⁸² According to his contention, *kārshāpanas* weighed 80 *rattis* or 144 grains, but silver *kārshāpanas*, of equal value namely 32 *rattis* of weight were also minted, and called *raupyakārshāpana*. He also noticed two varieties of copper *kārshāpanas* which are rare; and *ardhas*, *pādas*, *trimśakas*, *dvimāshakas* and *māshakas* of copper and silver were in his own cabinet.

180. *Pāli Dictionary*, Part III, p. 30.

181. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. cixi.

182. JASB., Vol. 30, 1934—*Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLV. p. 5f.

Vimśatika and *trimśatika*, mentioned by Patañjali,¹⁸³ can also be placed in this group. It is contended¹⁸⁴ that the two words refer to different types of coins—the former being of 100 *rattis* of copper and 40 *rattis* of silver; and the latter weighing 60 *rattis*. The evidence from the *Mahābhāṣya* is cited to show that in times past, sixteen *māshas* made one *kārshāpaṇa*, and sixteen *palas* (phalas) made one *māshaśamvatyah* (purā-*kalpa etad āsīt shoḍaśamāshāḥ kārshāpaṇam shoḍaśa palāś cha māsha samvatyah*).¹⁸⁵ The implication meant that a teacher was considering a *paṇa* of sixteen *māshas* as absolute and was probably acquainted with a *kārshāpaṇa* of twenty *māshas* in some locality. It was, therefore, suggested that the 16 *māshaka*, as well as the 20 *māshaka kārshāpaṇas* were in circulation at the same time. This suggestion cannot be accepted unless sufficient coins of these denominations are available to form a sound opinion on this matter.

Rūpa: The Sūtra *Rūpādāhataprasaṁsayoryap*,¹⁸⁶ meaning the affix *yap* comes in the sense of a *matup* after the word *rūpa* when *āhata* stamping and *praśaṁsā*—praise, are denoted, possibly refers to another type of coin. At another place Patañjali mentions *rūpatarka* examining a *kārshāpaṇa* (*paśyati rūpatarkaḥ kārshāpaṇam*).¹⁸⁷ It seems that he was the same as (*rūpadarśaka* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*,¹⁸⁸ but D. R. Bhandarkar, citing *Mahāśopāna Jātaka* suggested¹⁸⁹ that the word indicated the coin which was the subject of examination, though its exact denomination is unknown. This word should be differentiated from *rūpya*, which, as an adjective, may mean any type of coin with a figure (*rūpa*) stamped on it. In fact, according to the *Kāśikā*, *dināra*, *kedara* and *karshāpaṇa* had symbols impressed on them by means of striking a punch, and this process was called *āhata* (*ahataṁ rūpaṁ asya rūpyo rūpyaḥ kedāraḥ rūpyaṁ kārshāpaṇam*).¹⁹⁰ It is doubtful if the

183. V.1.24 p. 347.10.

184. JUPHS, Vol. XI, pt. I, p. 74f.

185. 1.2.64 p. 274.16.

186. V.2.120.

187. I.4.52 p. 337.12.

188. Op. cit. p. 69.

189. *Ancient Indian Numismatics* p. 132.

190. P. 432.

gold coins were stamped, because the Punch marked coins are confined to silver and copper alone, and this type of coin, according to Allan,¹⁹¹ was the sole silver currency of a certain period. It may, however, be assumed that *rūpa* was another type of coin, the metal being unknown, while *rūpaya* denoted the stamping of the punches on coins.

Weights and Measures :

In the *Mahābhāshya* there are many references to different kinds of weights and measures, which were, probably, in use in that period. According to Patañjali, the weights never varied one way or the other (*dronaḥ khāryadhakam iti naivādhike bhavanti na nyūne*).¹⁹² They were uniformly used, as for instance, oil and ghee could be weighed in *khāri*, as well as in *drona* (*tailam ghrītam iti khāryāṁ api bhavanti drone 'pi*).¹⁹³ The weights included : *ādhaka*, *drona* and *khāri* in ascending order, besides a few minor ones. The former was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *drona*, equivalent to 16 *kuḍavas* or nearly 7 lbs.—10 ozs. in weight. *Drona* was four times in weight to the *ādhaka*, but *khāri* was a measure of grain = 16 *dronas* or about 3 bushels. Grain weighing one *khāri* was enough for being sown in a limited plot of land.

Other weights mentioned are : *pala*, *māsha*,¹⁹⁴ *kārshāpaṇa*¹⁹⁵ *kuḍava*,¹⁹⁶ and *śūrpa*.¹⁹⁷ Their weights and relations to one another are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*,¹⁹⁸ and in the *Manu*¹⁹⁹ and *Yājñavalkya*²⁰⁰ *Smritis*. According to Manu, five *krishṇalas* or *raktikas* made one *māsha* (bean) and sixteen of these made one *suvarṇa*; four *suvarṇas* were equivalent to a *pala* or *nishka* and 10 *paḷas* made a *dharāṇa* of gold. The above

191. Op. cit. p. cix.

192. I.1.72 p. 184.17.

193. Ibid. 1.19.

194. I.2.45 p. 220.2.

195. I.2.64 p. 247.16.

196. V.2.37 p. 378.13.

197. V.1.20 p. 346.4.

198. Chapter XIX.

199. VIII. 134f.

200. I.361f.

ratio was applied to gold and copper only. For silver, 2 *krishṇalas* or *raktikas* = 1 *māsha*; 16 *māshas* = 1 *dharāṇa* or *purāṇa*, and 10 *dharāṇas* = 1 *śatamāna* (pala). A *kārsha* of copper was a *kārshāpaṇa* or *paṇa*. The weights have been analysed by several scholars,²⁰¹ on the basis of these original sources. According to these, a *māsha* weighed about 17 grains, the silver *kārshāpaṇa* was equivalent to 16 *paṇas* or 1280 *kowries*, but the copper one equalled 80 *raktikas* or about 176 grains.

Kuḍava and *śūrpa* were other denominations of weight. The former was a measure of grain, or of wood or of iron etc. equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *prastha*. It is described as a measure of capacity also, containing 12 *prakritis* or handfuls in a vessel four fingers wide and as many deep.²⁰² This weight is noticed in the *Mahābhārata*,²⁰³ as well as in Sanskrit Biddhist literature. *Śūrpa* was a measure of two *droṇas*. Patañjali mentions *adhyardha śūrpa*,²⁰⁴ which shows that there was room for a fractional weight also. Patañjali has also referred to *taila-mātra* and *ghritamātra*²⁰⁵ suggesting special pots for measuring ghee and oil, but their capacity is unknown.

Measurements: These refer to time and space, and include *aksha*, *pāda*,²⁰⁶ *aratni*,²⁰⁷ *prādeśa*,²⁰⁸ *vitasti* and *dishṭi*.²⁰⁹ The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and *Manusmṛiti* furnish detailed information on these as well.²¹⁰ *Aksha* was equivalent to 104 *angulas*, *pāda* was 12 or 15 fingers in breadth or $\frac{1}{2}$ - or $\frac{2}{7}$ of a *prakrama*²¹¹ and it is noticed in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*²¹² also. *Aratni* was a cubit of the middle length from the elbow

201. Colebrooke : *Indian Weights and Measures*, Trans. A.S.B. 1801. p. 95f. L.D. Barnett : *Antiquities of India*, p. 206f; Prannath : *Economic Condition of Ancient India* pp. 71 ff.

202. Monier Williams : Op. cit. p. 239.

203. XIV. 2722.

204. I. 1. 23 p. 82. 19.

206. I. 1. 56 p. 138. 18.

206. I. 2. 45 p. 220. 2.

207. I. 1. 14 p. 25. 5.

208. I. 4. 84 p. 346. 23.

209. V. 2. 37 p. 378. 13.

210. Chap. XX, 1. 64.

211. VI. 1. 172 p. 107. 13.

212. Cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 516.

to the tip of the middle length. *Prādeśa* was a measure of 12 *aṅgulas* and it covered the span of the thumb and forefinger.²¹³ *Vitasti* was a particular measure of length, defined either as a long span between the external thumb and the little finger, or as the distance between the wrist and the tip of the fingers, said to be 12 *aṅgulas* or about 9 inches. It was also a Vedic measure mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Grihya Sūtra*.²¹⁴

We have already referred to different types of weights mentioned by Kauṭilya and Manu. They have noticed several kinds of measurements and their proportions to one another. According to Kauṭilya,²¹⁵ 12 *aṅgulas* equalled 1 *vitasti*; 2 *vitastis* = 1 *aratni*; 192 *aṅgulas* = 1 *daṇḍa*, 10 *daṇḍas* = 1 *rajjū*; and 2 *rajjus* = 1 *parideśa*. Patañjali also refers to *rajjū*²¹⁶ or rope, and *yojana*²¹⁷ which, according to Kauṭilya, equalled 4 *krośas*.

Labour :

It is another economic phenomenon which needs consideration. Patañjali refers to a labourer working on five, six or ten coins (*pañchakamāsikah*, *ṣaṭkamāsikah* and *daśakamāsikah*),²¹⁸ probably *kārshāpāna* a month. There is another reference to a servant working until the cow, promised as his wages, was given to him. He was known as *āgavīṇah karmakārah*.²¹⁹ Sometimes the labourers worked in a team, and the physical incapacity of one did not stand in the way (*yo 'yam durbalaḥ san balavadbhiḥ saha bhāram vahati*).²²⁰ Clever workers were known as *ushṇaka* and lazy ones were called *sītaka* (*yah sītam karoti sa sītako yo yoshnam karoti sa ushṇakah*).²²¹ Unfortunately, there is no reference to labour problems, like, the

213. *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 50.

214. Monier Williams : *Op. cit.* p. 962, Col. 3.

215. *Op. cit.* p. 117f.

216. I.1.44 p. 110.4.

217. II.3.28 p. 455.13.

218. V.4.116 p. 442.19.

219. V.2.14 p. 374.13.

220. I.3.1 p. 273.22.

221. V.2.74 p. 387.5.

unwillingness on the part of employers to give more to the employees, and extra or double wages, or forced labour, which we find in later Buddhist literature.²²²

Communications :

Facilities for transport, means of communications, particularly the types of carriages, and travelling in company, are other interesting items of economic life. In early times there were lines of communication connecting the North with the South-West, from Sāvattthī (Śrāvastī) to Paitthāna, with halting places at Ujjenī, Gonaḍḍha, Vidiśā, Kośāmbī and Sāketa; and from North to the South-East, Sāvattthī (Śrāvastī) to Rājagaha (Rājagiri); and from East to West on which route boats plied for hire.²²³ Traders undertook long inland trips from Videha to Gandhāra, and from Magadha to Sovira; from Bharukachcha round the coast to Burma; and from Banaras down the river to its mouth, and then on to Burma; and also from Champā to the same destination.²²⁴ With this much of information as the background, it is not surprising to find in the *Mahābhāṣya* references to lines of communication connecting different centres in Madhyadeśa. We have also referred to certain other phenomenon pointing to the distance between Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī. Patañjali refers to the movement of people, from one village to another and enquiring the way (*grāmāntaraṃ gamiṣyāmi paṇthānam me bhavān upadiśatu iti*).²²⁵ The travellers also trod on forest roads (*kāntāra pathika*), as well as on water and land (*vāripathika, sthala-pathika*).²²⁶ Streets for carriage drive were called *rathyā*.²²⁷ An agreeable traveller in company was *pathipriya*,²²⁸ and generally travelling was done in caravans—*śakaṭasārtha*²²⁹ with a

222. *Sadd. Pun.* III.125; IV.105.9; IV.17.

223. *Vinaya* I.81. III.401.

224. Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India* p. 104.

225. I.1.49 p. 118.22.

226. V.1.77 p. 358.22.

227. V.1.6 p. 339.5.

228. VI.4.204 p. 116.21.

229. III.2.115 p. 120.21.

view to avoiding risks which were inevitable when travelling alone. Even then sometimes the caravan lost its way, or was decoyed by robbers. These facts are not mentioned by Patañjali, but they are noticed in later literature.²³⁰ Going in a carriage was very common (*rathikān upatishṭhate*).²³¹ Horses, camels, and even asses were used in carts (*āśvaratham aushṭra-ratham* and *gardabharatham*).²³² People also used a she-elephant (*ārohayati hastī sthalam manushyān*).²³³

Banking :

Credit was playing an important part in the economic life. The money lender was known as *prayojava*.²³⁴ Interest, paid over and above the principal, was called *vriddhi*. Patañjali mentions *pañchavridhi*,²³⁵ probably five per cent interest. According to *Vāsishṭha Dharmasāstra*, quoted by Manu,²³⁶ the rate of interest was $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. It is, however, uncertain if the one mentioned by Patañjali, is monthly or yearly. Interesting data on banking are furnished by the later Buddhist literature,²³⁷ which refers to the negotiator of a loan (*Insādhaka*) for the borrower (*Inagāhaka*), the harassment of debt (*Inaṭṭā*), and release from it (*Inamokkhā*), which we also notice in the *Jātakas*.²³⁸ The *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*²³⁹ calls money lending (*yogaprayoga*), and interest (*prayoga*). There is no other reference in the *Mahābhāshya* to banking details.

We have discussed particularly all the aspects of economic life in detail, the professions of the *pañcha-kāruki*, the five village artisans *kulāla*, *karmāra*, *vardhakin*, *nāpita* and *rajaka*, with their separate functions; workers in metal, especially goldsmiths, and blacksmiths; masons and architects; domestic ser-

230. *Lalitavistara*, XV. p. 227.21.

231. I.3.25 p. 281.7.

232. IV.3.120 p. 318.19.

233. VIII.1.56 p. 378.17.

234. III.1.26 p. 36.8.

235. V.1.47 p. 351.12.

236. S.B.E. Vol. 25 p. xxxix; VIII.140.

237. *Milindapañha*, pp. 365, 315.

238. IV.280; V.239.

239. IV.103; IV.7.

vants, cooks and confectioners; and certain wild professions, like, those of the fowler and the fisherman; and some low professions. The subject relating to agriculture and husbandry is considered in detail with reference to the division of holdings, preparations and methods of sowing, which varied according to seasons and crops; and the amount of seed needed. Ripening, reaping and threshing followed in the usual course, and the use of agricultural labour was a necessity, especially in big holdings. Grain was stored in big jars. In this connection we also mentioned different crops. Husbandry or the profession of cattle rearing was closely associated with land, and cows and sheep were reared. Merchandise being a comprehensive subject, we considered the position of the vendor and the vendee, trade stipulations and negotiations in a transaction and the role of the broker. We also mentioned articles of trade, noticed in the *Mahābhāshya*. Such a developed economic life necessarily involved exchange, barter and the intensive use of coinage. A good many types of coins, mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*, can be identified with the Punch-marked coins, because their weights agree. Weights and measures are also noticed. Lastly, we referred to means of communication, and banking, with reference to the position of the creditor and the rate of interest charged by him. The data present a true picture of the economic life in that period.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL LIFE

The evidence afforded by the *Mahābhāshya*, on this aspect of India life is equally important and interesting. In the Preamble to his work, Patañjali mentions in detail the objects underlying the study of grammar which are the protection of the Vedas, and the utilization of learning in various ways. The aims of study for seeking the truth, and acquiring knowledge of different subjects, methods employed,—both deductive and inductive, place and time of study, relations between the preceptor and the pupil, unworthy students and harsh teachers, types of educational institutions named after the teachers, writing, female education, and other miscellaneous subjects are mentioned by the Bhāshyakāra either in comments or by way of illustrations. The material, provided by this work, is comprehensive enough for us to form an estimate of the then prevailing system. Patañjali has presented the picture correctly, since he did not fail to mention the shortcomings as well. Here it may be interesting to find Patañjali's reference to the grammatical accuracy in the popular sphere, as one notices in the typical illustration in his gloss to Vārttika on II.4.56. It describes a dialogue between a grammarian and a coachman, and the latter points to the correctness of a grammatical formation. This may be a solitary instance, because the Bhāshyakāra wrote his work for the *Śiṣṭas* at a time when grammatical studies were being neglected, and there was the need for explaining and illuminating the sutras of Pāṇini.

Objects of Study :

Patañjali devotes a good portion of the first Pāda, in the first Āhnikā of the first Chapter of the *Mahābhāshya*, to the study of grammar, and its necessity, but he also makes certain remarks on the objects of study. No doubt, grammatical study was necessary for the protection of the Vedas (*rakṣhārtham vedānām adhyeyam vyākaraṇam*),¹ but it was also helpful in

1. I.1.1 p. 1.15

other spheres, as for example, in grasping the etymology of words, their formations, inflections and modifications (*vipariṇamayitum*).² It was obligatory for a Brāhmaṇa to study grammar as one of the six members of Vedic studies (*Brāhmaṇena nishkāraṇo dharmah śaḍaṅgo vedo 'dheyeyojñeya iti*),³ with a view to avoiding the use of corrupt words (*dushtāṅśab-dān mā prayukshmahīty adhyeyam vyākaraṇam*).⁴ The other reasons enumerated for this study are : for proper case endings of the Prayāja hymns (*savikbhatikāḥ śakyāḥ kartum*),⁵ it being compulsory for sacrificial priests (*ā-ritvijīnaḥ syām*),⁶ and finally for communion with God (*mahatā devena naḥ sāmyaṁ yathā syāt*).⁷ It is also suggested that as the words of the Vedas, if studied systematically, bear fruit, so he, who uses the words grammatically obtains religious felicity (*yathā vedaśabdā niyamapūrvam adhītaḥ phalavanto bhavanty evaṁ yaḥ śāstra pūrvam śabdān prayunkte so 'bhyudayena yuiyata iti*).⁸ The objects underlying the study of *śabdānuśāsana*—the grammar are : preservation (*rakshā*), adaptation to circumstances (*ūha*), doctrine (*āgama*), quick understanding (*laghu*), and the removal of confusion or doubts (*asamdeha*).⁹

This study was also made from the utilitarian (*laukika*) point of view, namely, to prepare a Brāhmaṇa boy for properly discharging his duties in places where required. The ultimate end of all was to seek the highest knowledge, as one finds in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*.¹⁰ According to the Bhāshya-kāra, knowledge could be perfected by receiving instruction (*āgamakāla*), assimilation (*svādhyāya*), teaching (*prava-chana*), and lastly, by practice (*vyavahāra*).¹¹ This shows that mere study with the teacher was not enough, but perfection needed constant study, and in different circumstances. It

2. *ibid.* 18.3. *ibid.* 18.19.4. *ibid.* p. 2.13.5. *ibid.* p. 3.11.6. *ibid.* 13.7. *ibid.* 22.8. *ibid.* p. 10.23.9. *ibid.* p. 1.14.

10. IV.4.21.

11. I.1.1 p. 6.1.

was also necessary for householders to acquire learning to be able to win a position in society. Thus, a pupil running away from his teacher's place without fulfilling his terms of residence was looked down upon as *khaṭvārūḍha*,¹² an iniquitous person who wished to use a bedstead during his period of studentship. After completing his education, the student had a bath and finally sought the permission of his preceptor to enter the life of a householder (*adhītya snātvā gurubhir amujñatena khaṭvāro-ḍhavyā*).¹³ It is clear that education was a necessity, and its ideal was not merely to seek the ultimate truth by attaining knowledge, but also to equip oneself for faithfully living the life of a householder.

Subjects of Study :

Some of the subjects were particularly meant for the Brāhmaṇas, a few for the Kshatriyas, but others could be studied universally by the *dvijas*. A Brāhmaṇa boy was expected to study and read Dharma, six Aṅgas and Vedas without any special occasion (*brāhmaṇena nishkāraṇo dharmah shadāṅgo vedo 'dhyeyo jñeya iti*),¹⁴ but the principal subject was grammar (*pradhānam cha shaṭsvaṅgeshu vyākaraṇam*). Patañjali refers to the ancient custom amongst Brāhmaṇas of studying grammar after the time of "the sacrament of the holy thread" (*purākalpa etad āsīt saṁskārōttara-kālam Brāhmaṇā vyākaraṇam sma adhīyate*).¹⁵ The instruction in Vedic words was imparted to them only when they could understand the places of utterance, and internal and external efforts (involved in the production of sound), and articulated sounds (*tebhyas tatra sthānakaraṇānupradānājñebhyo vaidikāḥ śabdā upadiśyante tad adyatve na tathā vedam adhītya tvaritā vaktāro bhavanti*).¹⁶ Later on, the position was somewhat changed and the study of grammar was considered redundant (*anarthakam vyākaraṇam iti*), with the result that the Āchārya (Pāṇini) had to write his work with a view to stress its need, (*tebhya evam viprati-*

12. II.1.16 p. 384.10.

13. *ibid.* 11.

14. I.1.1 p. 1.19.

15. I.1.1 p. 5.7.

16. *ibid.* 7-9

*pannabuddhibhyo 'dhyetribhya āchārya idam śāstram anvā-chashṭe).*¹⁷

A study of the Vedas included all the four, with six *Angas*, and their mystical (secret) treatises, *śākhāas* of *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda* with its thousand paths (*chatvāro vedah saṅgah sarahasya bahudhā vibhinnā ekaśatam adhvaryuśākhāḥ sahasra-vartmā sāmaveda*), the sacred traditions of the *Bāhvrīchas* (*ekaviṃśatidhā bāhy-richyam*) the *Atharvaveda* with nine branches (*navadhātharvaṇo vedo*), treatises on dialogues, or the science of logic (*vākovākyam*), Epics, historical legends (*itihāsa*), *Purāṇas* and the science of medicine (*vaidyakam*).¹⁸ In another reference, Patañjali also refers to texts, handed down by repetition from the *Atharvaveda* (*atharvaṇa āmnāyah*).¹⁹ There are also references to a work called *Samgraha*, Metrics (*Chandah śāstra*)²⁰ and *Dharmaśāstra*.²¹ The study of Astrology was made with measurements, and there are references to *kāla*—time, and *muhūrta*—a particular division of time (*sakāsh-ṭham jyotisham adhite—sakālam samuhūrtam*).²² A comparative study of all doctrines (*sarvatantra*) is also mentioned.²³ Patañjali refers to *Brāhmanīs* studying *kāśakitsna* doctrine and were accordingly known *kāśakitsnīm adhite kāśakritsna Brāhmani*.²⁴ In the same way, students reading *Sumanottara* and *Vāsavadattā* were called *Saumanottarika* and *Vāsavadattika*, but one doubts if the reading of these stories could confer a different class of studentship. It could only imply that there was room for non-serious studies as well. In this comment on the *sūtra Chhandobrāhmaṇāni cha tadvishayāni*, meaning that the affix denoting the 'announcer' has the force of 'one who studies' or 'one who knows' when added to a Veda—Text or *Brāhmaṇas*; and a *prokta* affix could only be added to a Veda or a *Brāhmāṇa*, when an *adheyeti* or *vedetri* affix follows it',

17. *ibid.* 17.

18. I.1.1 p. 9.21.23.

19. IV.3.131 p. 320.9.

20. I.2.32 p. 208.19.

21. I.2.64 p. 242.25.

22. VI.3.79. p. 170-17.

23. IV.2.60 p. 284.12.

24. IV.1.14; p. 206.9.

25. IV.2.60 p. 284.12.

Patañjali mentions²⁶ the study of the Vedas, as announced by Kroḍa, Kaṅkata, Muda, Pippalāda; the *Kalpa* texts announced by Kaśyapa or Kuśika, and other subjects. *Pañgi* was also read, along with the old *Kalpas* of Kāśyapins, Kauśikins and Ārunaparāji, as suggested by Maxmüller,²⁷ and old *Sūtras* including those of the Pārāśarins, Śailālin, Karmandins and Krāśvins.

Besides popular studies including narratives (*ākhyāyika*), historical legends, Purāṇas and tales like those of Yava-kṛita, Priyaṅgu, Yayāti, Vāsavadattā and Sumanottarā,²⁸ there was, probably, some training in other subjects, like *Vāyasavidyā*—the science of augury from observing crows, chiromancy etc. (*aṅgavidyā*), and the science of animals (*golakṣhaṇa*—*aśvalakṣhaṇa*).²⁹ *Kṣhātra vidyā*, *Dhārmavidyā*.³⁰ Juristic studies and *Traividya* were not neglected, and Patañjali also refers to training given in archery (*dhamushi śikṣhate*).³¹ It is interesting to learn that a person belonging to a higher caste, even though degraded, was entitled to the study of the Vedas (*Yadi tarhi nīpātānāny apy evam jātiyakāni bhavanti śrotṛiyamaś chhando 'dhīte*).³²

Despite the study of other subjects, the importance of grammar was immense, and Patañjali contemptuously refers to a bad grammarian (*vaiyākaraṇapāśa*).³³ This fact is also evident from the growth of grammatical literature between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali. The latter refers³⁴ to four landmarks in the history of grammar, represented by the schools of the four Āchāryas : Āpīśala, Pāṇini, Vyāḍi and Gautama, probably in chronological order. He also mentions the grammarians of the following schools—Bhāradvāja,³⁵ Saunāḇa,³⁶

26. IV.2.66 p. 286.12.

27. *His. Anc. San. Lit.* p. 364, note.

28. IV.2.60, p. 284.7-9.

29. *ibid.* 2.

30. *ibid.* 6.

31. I.3.21 p. 280.8.

32. III.1.122 p. 87.8.

33. V.3.47, p. 411.6.

34. VI.2.36 p. 125.12.

35. I.1.20 p. 73.26

36. II.2.18 p. 416.15.

Kuṇḍaravāḍava³⁷ and Sauryabhāgavata.³⁸ All the schools lay emphasis on grammatical studies preceding initiation into the Vedas.

Place and Time of Study :

These varied according to the circumstances and nature of studies. Patañjali refers to *gurukula* or the 'teacher's house', where the pupils were always under the canopy of the preceptor to protect them (*guruṇā śiṣhyas chhatravachchādyah śiṣhyeṇa cha guruś chhatravat pariṇālyah*).³⁹ Yājñavalkya also enjoins a *naishṭhika Brāhmaṇa*—a celibate all his life, to live with his Āchārya, and in the absence of the latter with his son, or wife, or even fire.⁴⁰ The Bhāshyakāra also refers to an unsteady pupil—known as *tīrthakāka* who, like a crow, wandered from teacher to teacher (*yo gurukulam gatvā na chiramtiṣṭhati sa uchhyate tīrthakāka iti*).⁴¹ There are references to pupils coming from teacher's place (*aupādhyāyakam* or *āchāryakam*)⁴² which may imply that they were residing with him. The boarders were known as *ante-vāsin*,⁴³ and the teacher, providing lodging, was called *ante-guru*.⁴⁴ Patañjali also refers to *daṇḍamānavaka*—staff pupils belonging to different schools, as for example, *Kāṇva-daṇḍa-mānavakah* and *Dākshā-daṇḍa-mānavakah*,⁴⁵ who were probably day scholars. *Daṇḍa* or staff was the common mark of pupilage, indicating the school to which the pupils belonged. Sometimes this mark of pupilage was associated with a particular region, as for instance, *Pañchāla-mānavakah*.⁴⁶ It was, really the name and fame of the teacher that attracted students from different places. A teacher, approached from a distance of a hundred *yojanas*, was known as *yaujana*

37. III.2.14 p. 100.8.

38. VI.2.106 p. 421.13.

39. IV.2.62 p. 333.1.

40. II.49.

41. II.1.42 p. 391.7.

42. IV.2.104 p. 295.19.

43. IV.3.104 p. 315.22.

44. VI.3.10 p. 145.16.

45. IV.2.102 p. 297.5.

46. IV.1.165 p. 267.9.

śatiko guru (yojanaśatād abhigamanam arhati).⁴⁷ There is no information on the question of fees, but it was charged in some form; and in certain cases, probably, paid in advance.⁴⁸ Sometimes it was the maternal uncle (*mātulaka*) who imparted instructions to the nephew (*upādhyāyasya śishyo mātulasya bhāgineya*).⁴⁹

The time of study differed according to the age, and circumstances. The initiation started early in spring (*vasanto 'dhyayanam*),⁵⁰ as is the practice even now in India, but in the light of the *Kāśikā* it can be suggested that Patañjali was referring to the study of literature dealing with Vasanta (*vāsantikaḥ*).⁵¹ As a rule, students studied in the day time, but there are references to studious ones working at night as well (*imakābhyām chhātrābhyām rātrir adhītā atho ābhyām ahar apy adhītam*).⁵² The Bhāshyakāra also mentions a student studying in a quiet place at night after protecting the light from the wind (*tathā-kārīśho 'gnir nivāta ekānte suprajvalito 'dhyayanam prayojayati*).⁵³ Light was produced by burning dried cow-dung (*kārīśha*) and it was necessary to sit in a quiet corner, lest the strong wind might cause fire in the hut. Though there are many references⁵⁴ to lambs in the *Mahābhāshya*, the pupils had, perhaps, no money to pay for the oil.

Methods of Study :

The methods, too, varied according to the subjects, as for example, the rote one was most suitable in Vedic studies. Pāṇini, in his *Sūtra Śrotriyaṁś chhando'dhīte*,⁵⁵ has referred to the Śrotriyas, called Brāhmaṇas in the *Kāśikā*, who learnt by heart the Chhandas or Vedas. In this connection, Patañjali

47. V.1.74 p. 308.17

48. *Milindapañha* p. 1.

49. III.3.18 p. 145.1.

50. IV.2.63 p. 284.21.

51. p. 308.

52. II.4.32 p. 481.10.

53. III.1.26 p. 33.8.

54. I.1.29 p. 119.9; II.1.1 p. 359.6 etc.

55. V.2.84.

56. II.1.2 p. 376.7.

mentions reading aloud *uchchair adhīyāna nīchair adhīyāna*). This was done according to the prescribed rules (*upayukta mānavakā ity uchhyante va ete niyamapūrvakam adhītavanto bhavanti*).⁵⁷ The Āchārya taught his pupils in a friendly way (*tad āchāryaḥ suhridbhūtvāny āchashate*).⁵⁸ As pointed out by Patañjali, the Vedic scholar recited verses beginning with *śam*, a term expressing auspiciousness, in order of Sections (*prapāṭhaka*) after uttering the sacred syllable *Om* (*om ity uktvā vrittāntaśaḥ śam ity evamādīn sabdān paṭhanti*).⁵⁹ From this, one gets the impression that the Vedic scholars were grown up and had a firm grounding in grammar which, in Patañjali's time, preceded Vedic studies. This enabled them to follow with ease the Vedic recensions in the light of the preceptor's comments rather than exclusively committing verses to memory without properly understanding them. The earlier method, however, was not discouraged. Recitation, popularly known as *nipāṭha*,⁶⁰ was done in company (*vyatipāṭha*).⁶¹ Doubts if any, were removed by the commentary or interpretation of the teacher (*vyākhyānato viśeshapratipattir na hi samdehād alakṣaṇam iti nityaparyāyavāchino grahaṇam iti vyākhyāsyāmah*).⁶² The ruling or explanation, given by the teacher, was binding (*āchāryapravrittir jñāpayati*).⁶³

It is interesting to find emphasis laid on pronunciation and recitation (*vadāvada*).⁶⁴ Those reading clearly were called *sādhvadhyāyin*, but others, rather slow, were known as *vilambitādhyāyin*.⁶⁵ There were some reciting with a sweet voice, like an Indian cuckoo (*kokilābhivyāhārī*).⁶⁶ Patañjali also mentions the preceptor slapping the young pupil for wrong pronunciation (*ya udātte kartavye 'mudāttam karoti khaṇḍikopā-*

57. I.4.29 p. 329.11.

58. II.4.32 p. 481.3.

59. I.1.1 p. 5.6f.

60. VII.29 p. 283.8.

61. I.3.15 p. 278.24.

62. I.1.1 p. 6.27-28.

63. I.1.2 p. 15.25.

64. VI.1.12 p. 17.6.

65. VI.2.80 p. 131.25.

66. *ibid.* 21.

dhyāyas tasmai chapetaṁ dadāti).⁶⁷ A *khaṇḍika upādhyāya* taught only those pupils who learnt section by section, and, it seems, he had to manage with comparatively young boys who could be slapped but not the older ones who were taught in a friendly manner.

There is no reference to examination in texts, but it is probably implied in the two sūtras of Pāṇini—*Karmādhyaiane vṛittam* and *Bahvachpūrvapadāt ṭhach*.⁶⁸ The two sūtras explain the use of the affix *ṭhak* in the sense of this is his act occurring in study, after a word in the first case in construction, if such word is an action (*karma*) which occurred (*vṛittam*) in study (*adhyayana*); or according to the next sūtra, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.' Explaining this further, the *Kāśika* classifies⁶⁹ students on the basis of errors, committed in recitation at the time of the examination (*yasya adhyayane niyuktasya parīkshākāle paṭhataḥ*), as for instance, *aikanyika*, committing only one mistake; *dvaianyika* two mistakes; and *traiyanyika* three mistakes. But there were some who committed twelve mistakes (*dvādaśānyika*); and it needed a good many recitations to avoid lapses in pronunciation. The other sūtra—*Samkhyāyāḥ samjñāsamghasūtrādhyayaneshu*,⁷⁰ referring to the affixes under V.1.182, connoting a word which signified a numeral in the sense of 'this is its measure', when the word, so formed, means 'a name, multitude, a book, or a fixed way and method of study', mentions the number of times a subject was studied, as for example, five times (*adhyayane pañchako 'dhītaḥ*).⁷¹ This point is not stressed by Patañjali.

In another Sūtra *tad adhte tad Veda*,⁷² which refers to the use of the affix *aṇ* after a word, denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that' or 'who under-

67. I.1.1 p. 41.23-24.

68. IV.4.63 & 64.

69. p. 367.

70. V.1.58.

71. *Kāśikā* p. 392.

72. IV.2.59.

stands that', the Bhāshyakāra in his gloss has clarified it by pointing out that *adhīte* refers to studies depending on memory—where the rote system was adopted. He calls such a pupil *sampāṭham paṭhati*⁷³ viz. one who simply commits the texts to memory without understanding the meaning. The other way was by grasping the contents, rather than letters in recitation (*kaśchich cha vetti na cha sampāṭham paṭhati*). It is, therefore, clear that there was room for proper thinking and understanding, commended earlier by Yāska⁷⁴ in his *Nirukta*, who compared cramming like dry logs of wood on an extinguished fire which can never illuminate.

Relations between the Preceptor and the Pupil :

The relations between the two were cordial, but failings on both sides were not wanting. The academic relations, more filial in nature, commenced when the preceptor, seriously upholding the sanctity of learning, started his instructions with Kuśa grass in his hand, and at an auspicious moment facing the east. The pupil was required to acquire the affection of his teacher for his own welfare, both in this world and in the life after (*ye tāvad ete guru—śuśrushavo nāma te 'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante pāralaukikam cha no bhavishyati iha cha naḥ prīto gurur adhyāpayishyati iti*).⁷⁵ The *Smritis* also enjoin upon the pupil to show reverence towards his preceptor. According to Yājñavalkya,⁷⁶ he should serve or worship the preceptor for the sake of learning, and be attentive, while Manu has prescribed⁷⁷ service to the teacher, both as a student obedient to him, and even after the period of studentship. At another place, Patañjali refers to a pupil living in the village for the sake of his preceptor and his learning (*grāme gurumittam vasāmaḥ—adhyayananimittam vasāma iti*).⁷⁸

73. IV.2.59 p. 283.10.

74. *ibid.* 10-11.

75. III.1.26 p. 36.1.2

76. II.26.

77. II.71, 72.

78. I.1.57 p. 148.22.

With begging bowl in his hands, the pupil went out on rounds (*kamaṇḍalu pāṇim chhātram adrākshī iti*),⁷⁹ to the householders for food and other necessities (*upādhyāyasya śiṣhyo yājñakulāni gatvāgrāsanādinī labhate*).⁸⁰ According to Yājñavalkya, the pupil presented his alms to the preceptor (*labdham tasmai nivedayet*).⁸¹ Some undesirables also stayed with the teacher. Patañjali refers to such pupils, studying the work of Pāṇini for the sake of securing boiled rice (*odana-pāṇinīyāḥ*), but the Raudhīyas were desirous of getting ghee (*ghrita-raudhīyah*), and the Chārāyaṇīyās stayed for blankets (*kambala chārāyaṇīyah*).⁸² These may have been the nick-names of those respective schools, but there were cases of students with little desire for learning, and they occasionally played truant. They tried to avoid their presence, but, when noticed by the teacher, they were discomfited (*katham upādhyāyād antardhatta iti paśyaty ayaṁ yadi mām upādhyāyaḥ paśyati dhruvam prekṣṇam upā lambho veti*).⁸³ Such a thing was discouraged. The pupil with a smile looked beautiful (*hasanam chhātrasya śobhanam*).⁸⁴ Yājñavalkya prescribes⁸⁵ the following qualities in a student who should be taught according to Dharma: He should be grateful, non-hating, intelligent, pure, healthy, non-envious, honest, energetic, kindred, and should either impart knowledge or make a present of money. These qualities seemed necessary for a better understanding between the Preceptor and the Pupil.

In cases of students committing errors, or for wilful default, the teacher exercised his authority of punishing him for the welfare of the latter: (*sāmritaiḥ pāṇibhir ghnanti guravo na vishokshitaiḥ lādanāśrāyīṇo doshās tādanāśrāyīṇo guṇāḥ*).⁸⁶ Sometimes the teacher was harsh and was known as *dāruṇā-*

79. I. 4. 84 p. 347.17.

80. I. 1. 55 p. 133.25.

81. II. 27.

82. I. 1. 73 p. 190.2.

83. I. 4. 28 p. 329.2.

84. III. 1. 94 p. 80.19.

85. I. 28. *Kṛitajñ-ādṛoḥi medhāvī suchikalyānasūchakaḥ
ādhyāpyaḥ sādhuśaktāptasvārthadā dharmatas tv ime.*

86. VIII. 1. 8 p. 367.12-13.

dhyāpaka, but a well-disposed one was called *śobhano'dhyāpaka*.⁸⁷ An excellent or superior teacher was designated *kāsthādhyāpaka*.⁸⁸ The pupils were also known according to their talents and disposition, as for example, a fiery boy (*agnir-mānavaka*),⁸⁹ a talkative one (*śabdakārya ayam mānavaka*),⁹⁰ and a wicked pupil (*mānavaka jaṭilakābhīrūpa*), in contrast to a harsh teacher (*jaṭilakādhyāpaka*).⁹¹ These may be extreme cases, but generally the teacher was friendly and well-disposed towards his pupils. Despite the offering of equal opportunities, the results varied according to the intelligence of the pupils (*samānam ihamānānām adhīyānānām cha kechid arthair yuyjante 'pare na*).⁹²

The *Mahābhāshya* also refers to the wife of the teacher (*upādhyāyī*)⁹³ or (*upādhyāyanī*),⁹⁴ but there is no reference to the relation that existed between her and the pupil. As a member of the family, the pupil was expected to pay her equal reverence. Patañjali does not mention the qualities necessary in a teacher and his pupil as we find in the *Milindapañha*,⁹⁵ nor is there any reference to hardships connected with student's life which, too, are mentioned in Buddhist literature.⁹⁶ He has classed the teachers into : *Āchārya*,⁹⁷ *Guru*,⁹⁸ *Sikshaka*⁹⁹ and *Upādhyāya*.¹⁰⁰ Though they appear to be synonymous there was, according to the *Smṛiti* literature, some difference in their respective functions. *Yājñavalkya*¹⁰¹ distinguishes the two

87. VIII.1.67 p. 379.19.

88. VIII.1.68 p. 380.13.

89. VIII.1.12 p. 368.17.

90. I.1.1 p. 1.13.

91. I.2.32 p. 209.20, 21.

92. I.1.5 p. 31.22.

93. III.2.21 p. 147.20.

94. IV.1.49 p. 220.21.

95. p. 94.

96. *ibid.*, p. 315; *Mahāvagga* I.25-26.

97. IV.3.131 p. 320.9.

98. I.2.32 p. 208.19.

99. I.2.64 p. 242.25.

100. VI.3.79 p. 170.17.

101. I.34. *sa gurur yaḥ kriyāḥ kṛtvā vedam asmai prayachchhati upaniya dadad vedam āchāryaḥ sa udāhṛtaḥ.*

terms, *Guru* and *Āchārya*; the former performed all the ceremonies even before the birth of the child till his initiation, but the latter initiated him into Vedic studies after performing the *Upanayana* ceremony. The position of the *Upādhyāya* was different. According to the *Yājñavalkya smṛiti*,¹⁰² he taught only a portion (*khaṇḍa*), but, as Manu¹⁰³ suggests, for his livelihood (*vṛttiyartham*). The status of the *Śikshaka* appears to be analogous. The pupils were both day scholars, and boarders (*antevāsin*). It may now be interesting to notice the types of schools named after the teachers, and the pupils who upheld the traditions of their respective schools.

Different schools—named after the teachers—Gotras and Charaṇas :

The pupils were known after the teachers to whom they were attached. According to Pāṇini's sūtra : *āchāryopasarjana's chāntevāsi* (VI.2.36)—when a scholar is named by an epithet, derived from the name of his teacher, that name is an *āchāryopasarjana*. In this class, Patañjali mentions the *dvanda* compound *Āpiśalapāṇinīya vyāḍiyagautamīya*¹⁰⁴—meaning the students belonging to the schools of Āpiśale and Pāṇini and Vyāḍi and Gautama. At another place, he refers to the relation of schools with gotras, as for example, in *asti no gargaiḥ sambandah—asti no vatsaiḥ sambandha iti*.¹⁰⁵ Both, Pāṇini and Patañjali, have mentioned a number of gotras which appear to have been based on Vedic mantras, religious traditions and sacrificial customs associated with a particular sage and later on adopted by all his followers. Patriarchal hegemony was recognized, and the head of the gotra was the connecting link with those having physical and spiritual ties. Different names in the succeeding pedigrees are also traced in the *Mahābhāshya*¹⁰⁶ as for instance : Garga, his son Gārgi, grandson Gārgyaḥ and the great grandsons called Gārgyāyanas.

102. I.35. *ekadeśam upādhyāya*.

103. II.141. *Yo'dhyāpayati vṛttiyartham upādhyāyah sa uchate*.

104. VI.2.36 p. 125.11.

105. II.1.1 p. 366.3.

106. IV.1.93 p. 247.22; IV.1.1 p. 193.14.

Charaṇa :

This term, occurring in the compound *charaṇasambandha*, has the sense of *nivāsa* (*charaṇasambandhena nivāsalaṣṭhaṇo*).¹⁰⁷ Here Patañjali quotes three *charaṇas* dwelling in the east (*trayaḥ prāchyah*), three in the west (*traya udichyah*), and three in the middle (*trayo mādhyamāḥ*). The position of the *Charaṇas*, often considered as synonymous with the *Śākhās* (cf. *Nirukta—Sarvacharaṇāṇam* explained by *Sarvaśākhānam*, I. 17), engaged the attention of Maxmüller¹⁰⁸ who explained the difference between these two terms, as well as with the *Parishad*, which is also mentioned by Patañjali.¹⁰⁹ According to the late Professor, *Śākhā* signified the various editions, or, more properly, the various traditions, that branched off from each of the three original branches of the Veda. In the latter sense, despite its similarity with *Charaṇa*, there was an important difference, as we notice *śākhām adhīte* but never *chāraṇam adhīte*, and still less *Pārishadam adhīte*. *Śākhā*, originally meant a literary work, and that *Charaṇa* did not. The use of the term *Śākhā* sometimes in the sense of *Charaṇa* was due to the fact that the former did not exist as written books, but only in traditions of the *Charaṇas*; each member of the latter representing, what should be called, the copy of a book. In a passage from Jagaddhara's commentary on *Māla-timādhava*, *Charaṇa* is said to mean 'a number of men who are pledged to the reading of a certain *śākhā* of the Veda, and who have in this manner become one body (*Charaṇaśabdah śākhāviśeshādhyayanaparaikatāpanna — janasaṁghavāchi*).¹¹⁰ He also referred to Pāṇini mentioning *Charaṇas*, as constituting a multitude—that is comprising a number of followers (*Charaṇebhyoḥ dharmavat—samūhārthe*).¹¹¹ In a *vārttika* on IV. 1.63, even women are mentioned, as belonging to a *Charaṇa*, as for example, *Kaṭhi*¹¹² was the wife or daughter of a Brāhmaṇa who belonged to the *Charaṇa* or read the *śākhās* of the Kaṭhas.

107. IV. 2. 138 p. 301.5.

108. *Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit.* p. 124f.

109. III. 3. 108 p. 155.10.

110. Max Müller : *op. cit.*

111. IV. 2. 46.

112. VI. 3. 42 p. 157.13.

A *Śākhā*—a portion of the Śruti, could not properly include law books, but the followers of certain Śākhās could, in course of time, adopt a code of law binding on their *Charaṇa* only, which naturally, went after the name of their group. Thus *Kāṭhakaṃ* could be used not only for the sacred traditions, but also for the laws of the Kaṭhas. According to Patañjali, these sacred traditions were known as *Āmnāya*, as for instance, the doctrines and traditions, associated with the school of Kaṭha were described as *Kāṭhakaṃ* (*kāṭhanam dharma ā-mnāyo va kāṭhakaṃ*).¹¹³ Others mentioned in this context are: *Kālāpakam*, *Maudakam* and *Paippalādakam*. Even the *Prātiśākhya*s were named according to *Charaṇas*, and they were the exclusive property of the readers of certain *Śākhās*, more than even the *Kuladharmas* or family laws. New *Charaṇas*, in later times, were also founded on sacred texts peculiar to themselves.

As regards the position of a *Parishad*, although every *prātiśākhya* could be called a *Pārishada* (cf. Pāṇ. IV. 3.123), viz. a work belonging to a *Parishad*, not every *Pārshada* could be called a *Pratisākhya* except those which contained the rules of pronunciation for a popular *śākhā* or text of the Vedic hymns, studied and taught in certain *Parishads*. The *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad*¹¹⁴ refers to Svetaketu's visit to the *Parishad* of the *Peñchālas*.

With this explanation of the terms, serving as the background for a proper understanding, we may refer to the actual references to such schools in the *Mahābhāshya*. The main grammatical schools were those of *Āpiśali*,¹¹⁵ *Pāṇini*,¹¹⁶ *Vyāḍi*,¹¹⁷ *Śākalya*,¹¹⁸ *Kuṇaravāḍava*,¹¹⁹ *Sauvāśya*¹²⁰ and *Śākāṭyana*.¹²¹ Amongst the Vedic schools were those of the Black Yajurveda (*Kāṭhakaṃ*), and *Kālāpakam* which were very

113. IV.3.120 p. 319.5.

114. VI.2.

115. IV.2.45 p. 281.3.

116. I.1.20 p. 75.3.

117. I.2.64 p. 244.8.

118. I.1.18 p. 72.8.

119. VII.3.1 p. 317.9.

120. VI.1.127 p. 89.22.

121. III.2.1. p. 120.21.

popular in different villages (*grāme grāme Kāṭhakam Kālāpakam cha prochyate*),¹²² the school of *Varatantu* (*Vāratanta-vīyāḥ*) and that of *Tittiri* (*Taittirīyaḥ*)¹²³ from the *Black Yajurveda*, and *Paippalādaka*,¹²⁴ a recension of the *Atharvaveda*.

Other schools, mentioned by Patañjali, including those of a specialized nature, were *Yājñikas*, *Bahvrīchas*, *Aukthikas* and *Mīmāṃsakas*.¹²⁵ The first one consisted of those who were well-up in rituals, but they were equally proficient in grammar as Patañjali calls them *vaiyākaraṇas*. The members of the second school were familiar with the *Rigveda* and could represent in sacrificial economics. The *Aukthikas* studied the *Ukthas*—a kind of recitation, or certain verses, forming a subdivision of the *Śāstras*, recited in contra-distinction to the *Sāman* verses which are sung, and *Yajñas*, or muttered sacrificial formulas.¹²⁶ The last school was noted for its members following the *Mīmāṃsā* principles. According to Max-Müller,¹²⁷ the *Brāhmaṇas* cared for the divine authority of the *Śrutis* and implicitly manifested the doctrines of the *Rishis* in their original simplicity and purity. In philosophical discussions, they allowed the greatest possible freedom. At first only three philosophical systems were admitted as orthodox, the two *Mīmāṃsās* and *Nyāya*, but their number was soon raised to six so as to include the *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* schools. Keith suggested¹²⁸ that from *Medhātithi* onwards, use is made of *Mīmāṃsā* principles to overcome legal difficulties which arose from the recognition in the law schools of many conflicting texts as all having authority, just as the Vedic texts, before the compilers of the *Mīmāṃsā* presented innumerable difficulties.

There were certain other schools, based on *gotras* or teachers, like those of *Upagū*—a pupil of that school was known

122. IV. 101 p. 315.11.

123. IV. 2.66 p. 286.9.

124. IV. 1.1 p. 195.25.

125. II. 2.29 p. 430.20.

126. Monier Williams; *Sans. Eng. Dict.* p. 726.

127. *Op. cit.* p. 78.

128. *His San. Lit.* p. 475.

as *Aupagaviya*,¹²⁰ and a young girl was called *Aupagavi*, *māṇavikā*,¹³⁰ *Kapiñjali*, and *Kaulini*; their pupils were respectively called *Kapiñjalah*,¹³¹ and *Kaulināḥ*. There were some other schools of *Kāṇvyāyana* (*Kāṇvāyana*) the descendants of Kaṇva; the pupils of this school were known as *Kāṇvayāniyah*.¹³² The *Sālaṅkah*,¹³³ belonged to the school of *Sālaṅki*, and the other ones were: *Bhāradvājīyah*,¹³⁴ *Sākalah*,¹³⁵ *Audameghāḥ* (*audamedhyāyāśchhātrā audameghāḥ*),¹³⁶ *Audulomi*,¹³⁷ *Gārgiṃyā*, *Vātsīyah*,¹³⁸ and *Kāśyapāḥ*,¹³⁹ associated with their respective gotras. The *Kraudāḥ*,¹⁴⁰ traced their descent from Kruḍa. There are also references to *Kauśikīnaḥ* and *Pārāśariṇaḥ*.¹⁴¹ Patañjali mentions several other schools as well—*Taumburaviṇaḥ*, *Hāridraviṇaḥ*, *Āruṇinaḥ*, *Sādyāyaninaḥ* and *Bhāllavinaḥ*,¹⁴² *Māṭharaḥ*,¹⁴³ and *Paingalakāṇvāḥ*.¹⁴⁴ Sometimes the pupils studied at their father-in-law's house, and they were known as *śvāśureryūnaś chātrāḥ śvāśurāḥ*.¹⁴⁵

Some professional schools are also noticed by Patañjali, as for instance, those of actors (*śailālīn*),¹⁴⁶ and players on instruments (*mārdaṅgika*).¹⁴⁷ The references to musical instruments and play-acting in the *Mahābhāshya* definitely suggest the existence of such schools which imparted instructions in

129. IV. 1.90 p. 243.5.
130. IV. 1.93 p. 247.24.
131. IV. 1.90 p. 243.18.
132. IV. 1.165 p. 267.14.
133. IV. 1.90 p. 244.25.
134. IV. 1.79 p. 234.19.
135. IV. 1.18 p. 213.7.
136. IV. 1.78 p. 229.25.
137. IV. 1.78 p. 230.5.
138. IV. 1.89 p. 240.15.
139. Ibid, p. 271.13.
140. IV. 2.66 p. 286.12.
141. Ibid. 16.
142. IV. 2.104 p. 296.14-15.
143. II. 2.18 p. 452.19.
144. I. 1.73 p. 190.10.
145. IV. 1.90 p. 243.98.
146. IV. 2.66 p. 286.18.
147. IV. 4.55 p. 332.4.

play-acting and playing on instruments. On this point, Kautilya¹⁴⁸ has also referred to the arrangements for higher teaching for the production of great teachers. There were also schools or teachers imparting instructions in military subjects (*kshātravidyā*),¹⁴⁹ or practical training in the use of sword (*asibhir yuddham*), and cavalry (*aśvair yuddham*).¹⁵⁰ It is not certain if the provision was made for teaching subjects like, Chiromancy (*āṅgavidyā*), and understanding the signs of crows (*vāyasavidyā*), cows and horses (*golakshana-aśvalakshana*); or in *Itihāsa*—historical legends, Purāṇas, counting and accounting (*parigaṇanā*). There was room for elementary study (*varṇapāṭha*),¹⁵¹ though there is no reference to the young teacher, popularly known as *dāraakāchārya*¹⁵² in later literature.

Fees and Period of Study:

There is no reference to the fees paid to the teacher, either in a lump sum, or by part payment, though at one place Patañjali cites the gift of cows to the teacher (*upādhyāya gāṁ dadāti iti*).¹⁵³ The question of fees does not seem to be important. The diffusion of learning had no mercenary motive. It was the duty of the householders to meet the requirements of the Preceptor and his family, as well as his pupils, but the Upādhyāya, whom Patañjali calls *Khandikopādhyāya*, in the light of *Manusmṛiti*,¹⁵⁴ did charge for imparting instructions in only a portion of the Veda, or their Angas. The day scholars were expected to pay fees in cash, or in kind, so that the teacher could maintain himself and his family. The study of a portion, according to the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*¹⁵⁵ was also fruitful. There is no reference to the period of study, but, as suggested by *Yājñavalkya*,¹⁵⁶ for each Veda the *Brahmacharya*

148. *Arthaśāstra* II. 27.

149. VI. 2.60 p. 284.6.

150. V. 1.59 p. 356.23.

151. I. 1.69 p. 178.20.

152. *Lalitavistara* p. 144.

153. 1-4-32 p. 330.13.

154. II. 141.

155. II. 47.

156. II. 36.

should be for twelve years or five or, as some say, till they are completely acquired. Manu suggests¹⁵⁷ that a student, who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only without breaking the rules of studentship, shall enter the order of householder. Patañjali looks with contempt upon those entering domestic life without completing the period of study. It seems that there was some prescribed period of study, though the actual number of years are not mentioned.

Writing:

Despite insistence on the rote method, writing was in use, and the Greek script is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣhya* (*Yāvanānilipi*).¹⁵⁸ It is later on referred to as one of the 64 scripts in which the Śākya prince Gautama was proficient.¹⁵⁹ The *Mahāvastu* has also mentioned¹⁶⁰ Yāvanī, besides other scripts—*Pushkarasārī*, *Kharoshtī*, (*Kharoshtī*), *Brāhmī*, *Kūṭalipī*, *Śaktinlipī*, *Lekhālipī* and *Mudrālipī* or seal writing. It is certain that Greek, Kharoshtī and Brāhmī were popular scripts in that period, though the use of the former two was confined to North-West India.

Female Education :

The *Mahābhāṣhya* refers to *Upādhyāya*, *Upādhyāyī*¹⁶¹ and *Upādhyāyanī*.¹⁶² The last word is translated by Monier Williams¹⁶³ as 'the wife of a teacher' while the former two, probably, denoted a female teacher (*upetyādhyāte tasyā upādhyāyī upādhyāya*). Patañjali also refers to a young girl of the *Aupagavī* school (*Aupagavī māṇavikā*)¹⁶⁴ and a Brāhmaṇī studying Kāśakritsnī doctrines (*Kāśakritsnīm adhīte Kāśakritsnā Brāhmaṇī*).¹⁶⁵ There are two other terms

157. III. 2.

158. IV. 1.49 p. 220.19.

159. *Lalitavistara*, p. 125.

160. Vol. I p. 135.

161. III.3.21 p. 147.20.

162. IV.1.49 p. 220.21.

163. op. cit. p. 213.

164. IV.1.93 p. 247.24.

165. IV.1.14 p. 206.9.

in the *Mahābhāṣya Sāktikī* and *Yāśīkī*¹⁶⁶—both, being synonymous, meaning 'female lance or spear-holder'. It is rather doubtful that women received military education, although individual cases might not be ruled out. References from the Vedic literature¹⁶⁷ suggest initiation of girls for education before marriage. The eminence of Ghoshā and Lopamudrā is evidence from the *Rig-Veda*, and in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*,¹⁶⁸ there is a ritual for the benefit of a person, anxious for the birth of a daughter, who could distinguish herself as a scholar in due course. Even the deeper problems of philosophy were probed into by women like Maitreyī and Gārgī, though such a thing was getting unpopular with the passage of time. According to Megasthenes,¹⁶⁹ the Brāhmaṇas did not communicate knowledge of their philosophy to their wives, lest they leave home. Manu permits¹⁷⁰ the *upanayana* of girls, provided the Vedic mantras for the occasion are not recited.

In the light of these observations, it is not surprising to notice Patañjali's reference to female education. In the *Mahāvastu* there are references¹⁷¹ to female education—that of a banker's daughter being brought up as an ascetic and competent enough to discuss sastras, and another girl who belonged to the artizan class but was talented.

Lastly, the Bhāṣhyakāra refers to a handsome dark complexioned person who was conversant with every branch of learning, and was known as *diṭṭha*.¹⁷² This reference may suggest that there was scope for learning even for non-Aryans who were dark-complexioned, as Patañjali is very particular about the complexion of the Brāhmaṇas which he specifically notices in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

166. IV.1.15 p. 209.10.

167. Cf. RV.X.5.18.

168. VI.4.17.

169. Frag. XLI—op. cit.

170. II.66.

171. Vol. II. p. 53; Vol III. p. 391.

172. V.1.119 p. 367.20.

Assemblies :

Patañjali uses the term *Parishat*¹⁷³ (*Parishad*) for denoting learning bodies. Earlier Pāṇini refers to the use of the affix *nya* after the word *Parishad* in the sense of 'who assembles there (*Parishadonyah bhavati sama vāyān samavaiti ity etasmin vishaye*).¹⁷⁴ Its constitution is referred to by *Yājñavalkya*,¹⁷⁵ who suggests that four persons, who knew the Vedas and the Dharmas, or only the three sciences, constituted, a *Parishad*. "What it says is Dharma, or that which even one person, who is best among the knowers of spiritual sciences, declares." It appears that the institution of *Parishad* regulated the academic activities of different groups, or schools, and served as a means for the development and propagation of learning. The *Gobhila Grihya Sūtra*¹⁷⁶ mentions a teacher with his *Parishad*.

We have taken into account the educational system in the time of Patañjali in all its aspects. The objects of study, with particular reference to grammar in the Preamble to his work—were many, but the ultimate aim was to seek the highest knowledge. It could be made perfect, not only at the time of receiving instruction, but also through assimilation, teaching and application. The continuous study at different periods made an enthusiastic student proficient in the understanding and interpretation of Vedic mantras at appropriate occasions. The subjects of study, besides grammar which preceded Vedic studies, were the four Vedas with six Aṅgas, their mysteries, a hundred Śākhās of the Yajur-Veda, and the Sāma-Veda with its thousand paths, treatises on dialogues, or the science of logic, Epics, Purāṇas and Medicine. Other studies included Saṁgraha, Metrics, Dharmaśāstra, Astrology, and a comparative study of all doctrines (*sarva-tantra*), and popular subjects like the tales of Sumanottarā and Vāsavadattā. The Smritis, Chiromancy, and the Science of animals are also mentioned. The place and time of study varied, though it was generally

173. III.3.108 p. 155.10.

174. IV.4.44. *Kāśikā* p. 364.

175. 199.

176. III.2.40.

the home of the teacher, where the over-zealous pupils studied by the light of the cowdung fire in a quiet corner at night. There were also day scholars, and others who had partial instructions. The method of study was the rote system, but there was scope for discussion and interpretation for a proper understanding of the texts. Emphasis was laid on pronunciation, and, probably, there were examinations in recitations. The relations between the Preceptor and his pupils were very cordial—each side bearing his responsibility, but there were occasional lapses, like the student running away due to the harshness of the teacher. The Bhāshyakāra mentions the names of different schools, and refers to fees and period of study. Only the *Khaṇḍika* teachers charged for their instructions; others seem to be doing that freely, depending on the householders who met their requirements, and whatever the parting student paid as *gurudakshinā* on the completion of his education. Different types of scripts, female education, and the probable scope of study for non-Āryans, and the *Parishads* or assemblies are also traced in the *Mahābhāshya*. The reference to the *Yavanānī* or the Greek script is not surprising, since Patañjali refers to the settlements of the Yavanas. In the light of the above study of the educational life in that period, it may be suggested that education was planned on the ancient model which laid stress on proper understanding and interpretation, without completely giving up cramming which was necessary in certain cases.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

India in the time of Patañjali witnessed the revival of Vedic sacrifices, as is evident from the references, in the *Mahābhāshya*, and the Ayodhyā inscription regarding two horse sacrifices performed by Pushyamitra Śuṅga. The period was equally notable for the evolution of the Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva cult which had originated earlier. These religious factors did not interfere with the Śramaṇa religions—Buddhism and Jainism. The famous stūpas at Bhārhut and Sāñchī, the former with its railing and *toranas*, and the latter with the railing alone, testify to the unhampered activities of the Buddhists who created endowments in that period. It is, however, supposed on the basis of the evidence from the *Divyāvadāna*,¹ that the Śuṅga monarch tried to undo the work done by Aśoka for Buddhism with a view to rising in the esteem of the Brāhmaṇas. This is a short-sighted view. The Brahmanical Śuṅga Emperor was well-known for his horse sacrifices, rather than for his attempt to destroy Buddhism. There is nothing to support the presumption of Bagchi² that the Greek invasion was inspired by the anti-Buddhist attitude of this monarch. It is unlikely that Pushyamitra would have permitted these Buddhist dedications if he was an antagonist. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kalinga reveals the prosperity of Jainism in Kalinga. In that period the ascetic religious orders also flourished, some of which are mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*. In this connection, it is interesting to study some of the inscriptions which corroborate the evidence furnished by the *Mahābhāshya* on this subject, with particular reference to the Bhāgavata cult. With this short introductory background, we may consider different aspects of religious life and conditions in that period.

1. P. 433.4.

2. IHQ. Vol. XXII. 1946 p. 81. ff.

Revival of Vedic Sacrifices :

In the preamble to his work, the Bhāshyakāra, while stressing the need for the study of grammar, also refers to the study of Yājñika Śāstra (*Yājñikāḥ śāstreṇa anuvidadhate*).³ It is well-known that Aśoka had discouraged sacrifices of animals, but they were revived, and perhaps with greater enthusiasm, in the time of Pushyamitra. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* quotes references to sacrifices, performed for this Brahmanical ruler (*iha Pushyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ*,⁴ *Pushyamitro yajate yājakā yājayanṭīti*).⁵ This is supported by the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadava which records the performance of two Aśvamedha sacrifices by Pushyamitra (*dvira'svamedha yājīnaḥ senapateḥ Pushyamitrasya*)⁶ and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa.⁷ The *Mahābhāshya* also refers to different types of sacrifices : *Agniṣṭoma*, *Rājasūya*, *Vāja-ṭpeya*, and the domestic ones—*Pākayajna* or *Pañchayajña*—accessories needed in such sacrifices, their duration and fruits that accrued from their performances, and lastly, the priests required for them, who received handsome *dakṣiṇās*. Though the material, furnished by the *Mahābhāshya* on this point, is not as exhaustive as one finds in the *Ashtādhyāyī*, it is nevertheless enough to suggest the revival of such sacrifices in that period. Patañjali refers to persons unqualified for this purpose (*yājñika pāśa*),⁸ and he also mentions the amount of *dakṣiṇā*, the sacrificial fee given to the *Brāhmaṇas*—sometimes the gelded bull (*mahānīrashto dakṣiṇa diyate*),⁹ but occasionally the same cow passed on a thousand times (*sahasra-kritvo dattvā tayā sarve te sahasradakṣiṇūh sampannāh*).¹⁰ This may be an exaggeration but it is not unusual for a *Brāhmaṇa* to dispose of the cow which he has received from

3. I. 1.1 p. 9.17.

4. III. 2.123 p. 123.3.

5. III. 1.26 p. 26 p. 34.2.

6. JBORS. Vol. X p. 203.2.

7. Act V.

8. V. 3.47 p. 411.6.

9. VI. 2.38 p. 125.21.

10. I. 1.2 p. 17.27.

his *yajamāna*, and the same is purchased again for that purpose.

Types of Vedic Sacrifices:

Patañjali mentions *Agnishṭoma*, *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya*, besides the domestic sacrifices. The first one is mentioned several times¹¹ and the merits accruing from its performance are also enumerated. This sacrifice is an ancient one mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*,¹² and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.¹³ As the simplest and the most common of soma-sacrifice, it required the immolation of single goat, a he-goat to Agni and the chanting of twelve *stotras*, viz. the *Bahish-Pavamāna* and four *Ājya stotras* at the morning sacrifice; the *Mādhyamdina pavamāna* and four *prishṭhasṭotras* at the mid-day service; the *Tritiya* or *Ārbhava*—*pavamāna*, and the *Agnishṭoma sāman* at the evening service. The last named chant gave its name to the sacrifice which is often explained as the *Agnishṭoma saṁsthās kratuḥ* or the sacrifice concluding with Agni's praise.¹⁴ The *Mahābhāshya* does not mention changes, if any, made in the sacrifice of the animal. Its time of performance, left vague in earlier texts, is unaccounted for by *Patañjali*. Keith doubted the views expressed by Hillebrandt, that it was the spring festival, celebrated at the new or full moon, which marked the beginning of the year, when a nectar of the gods was offered to them in the shape of King Soma.¹⁵ It would be out of place to describe here in detail this Vedic ritual which seems to have been suspended till it was revived again.

The Royal Consecration ceremony, known as the *Rājasūyayajña*, and in the three *Śaṁhitas* of Black *Yajurveda*, as powers on the new King. *Abhishechanīya*, as the name of a rite included in the *Rājasūya*, is mentioned in the White *Yajurveda*, and in the three *Śaṁhitas* of Black *Yajurveda*, as well as in several *Brāhmaṇas*, and the *Śrauta* ritual of all the

11. IV. 3.66 p. 312.4, 7; III. 4. p. 168.15 etc.

12. IX. 9.2; XI. 9.7.

13. III. 7.1.13.

14. S.B.E. Vol. XLI. p. xiii.

15. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 327. cf. also E.R.E. Vol. 12, p. 795 and ref.

16. V. 3.66 p. 312.4, 8, 12.

four Vedas. The last book of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has *abhisheka* itself for its main topic. The details of the inauguration ceremony, as described in the Sanskrit literature, may be out of place here, but, according to Goldstucker,¹⁷ the Vaidika ceremony had undergone various modifications, and the inauguration ceremony at the Pauranic period had but little affinity with the Vaidika rite. F. W. Thomas suggested¹⁸ that there were also special causes at work, such as the neglect of the old Śrauta rituals, or the necessity of providing new forms for rulers who were without title to Kshatriya rites. Patañjali does not mention the details of his sacrificial rite which was certainly performed with the consecration of the Brahmanical Sunga ruler. A distinction is drawn between the *Rājasūya*, an elaborate ritual prescribed for Kshatriya King desirous of paramountcy, and *Abhisheka* which was a necessary act of State including priestly rites. The *Rājasūya*, on the other hand, was an optional religious rite, undertaken with a set object and included a ceremony of consecration. It displayed many popular elements in character with the great nobles and office-bearers playing an important part.

The *Vājapeya*, referred to by the *Bhāshyakāra*,¹⁹ is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*²⁰ and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,²¹ and is fully described in the Śrauta ritual of all the Vedas. The object, and the persons entitled to perform it, have been discussed by earlier authorities. According to the *Āśvalāyana Grihyasūtra*,²² it was performed by one desiring supremacy (*ādhipatyakāma*), the *Sāṃkhāyana* gives, instead, one desiring abundance of food (*annādya*) and the *Lāṭyāyana* requires it for one promoted by brāhmaṇas and kings (*yām brāhmaṇā rājānaś cha puraskurvīran sa vājapeyena yajet*). According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*²³ the rite originated with Indra and Brihaspati, who with the aid of *Savitri* won Prajāpati.

17. *Sanskrit Dictionary* p. 280.

18. E.R.E. Vol. I, p. 21f. and all ref.

19. IV. 3.66 p. 312.5, 8, 12.

20. XI. 7.7.

21. III. 41.1.

22. IX. 9.1.

23. V. 1.1.

The reasonable solution, as suggested by Eggeling and Hillebrandt²⁴ is that *Vājapeya* was originally general for all ranks which severally had more special rites, the *Rājasūya*, *Brihaspalisava*, *Sthapatisava*, *Grāmanīsava* etc. etc. The features of the *Vājapeya* itself seems to point to the conclusion of Weber that it was originally a popular celebration of victory or promotion.

In the *Mahābhāṣya*, *Agnishṭoma* is associated with *Brāhmaṇas* (*tathā vede khalv api vasante Brāhmaṇo 'gnishṭo- madibhiḥ kratubhir yajet.*²⁵ A bit of confusion, however, seems to have arisen regarding its curious position. Some texts place it above the *Rājusūya*, suggesting that the former conferred paramountcy, while the latter aimed only at kingship. Others make the *Vājapeya* appropriate for a paramount lord, and the *Rājasūya* for a universal monarch like Varuṇa.²⁶ Keith suggested²⁷ a simple solution by making the *Vājapeya* a rite which was performed by the King before the *Rājasūya*, and by the *Brāhmaṇa* before the *Brihaspalisava*, a festival celebrated on his appointment as a royal Purohita.

Next in order is the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which was actually performed by a Śuṅga monarch. Patañjali mentions it separately in three different references.²⁸ He also refers to *Aśvayūpa*, the post to which the sacrificial horse was tied with its wooden ring at the top. It is evident that the horse-sacrifice was not in letters, but an accomplished fact in this period. It is probable that Patañjali may have joined in any of the two horse sacrifices as a priest.

Yūpas:

Patañjali also refers to *Yūpas* in a number of references,²⁹ which were set up for binding the sacrificial animal. He has also mentioned the material of their make—*dāru* or *vaibhūṭaka*

24. E.R.E. Vol. I. p. 21 ff and ref.

25. VI. 1.84 p. 57.21.

26. Cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II p. 256 and ref.

27. *Op. cit.* p. 340.

28. I. 4.9 p. 315.9; III. 1.85 p. 64.22; VII. 1.39 p. 256.14.

29. I. 1.1 p. 38.17; II. 1.36 p. 390.9 etc.

(*Terminalia Bellerica*)—(*yūpāya daru*³⁰—*vaibhūtaḥ yūpaḥ*).³¹ These Yūpas were associated with Vedic sacrifices, and detailed instructions regarding their shape and size are given in literature. Thus, in the case of the *Vājapeya* sacrifice, its height should be 17 cubits, but in others it varied from five to fifteen cubits.³² Its octagonal shape is fancifully compared in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*³³ to the eight syllables of each line of the *Gāyatrī* metre. The stem was never straight, but curved both at the top and at the centre; and at a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was a ring or *kaṭaka* technically called *chashāla*, which is mentioned by the *Bhāshya-kāra*.³⁴ Wooden Yūpas have not been found so far, but numerous stone Yūpas have been discovered in Northern India, the earliest being of the time of the Kushāṇa ruler *Vāsishka*.³⁵ It is interesting to find in the *Grihya Sūtra* and *Dharma Sūtra* literature sentiments contrary to the setting up of these Yūpas. Thus, *Vasishṭha*,³⁶ *Baudhāyana*,³⁷ *Vishṇu*,³⁸ and *Āśvalāyana*³⁹ declared that the very touch of a Yūpa was as polluting as that of a funeral pyre, or a woman in her courses. These views were, probably, not endorsed, as we find reference to the Yūpas, and the actual performance of horse sacrifices in the time of Patañjali.

Domestic Sacrifices:

There are also references to domestic sacrifices, like, *Pākayajña*,⁴⁰ or *Pañcha-mahā-yajña*.⁴¹ The former, according to the *Āśvalāyana Grihya Sūtra* was of three kinds—the *hutas* viz. the sacrifices offered over the fire; over something that is

30. II. 1.36 p. 390.9.

31. V. 1.2 p. 338.10.

32. *Kat. Śraut. Sūtra*. VI.3.

33. V. 2.1.5.

34. I. 1.1 p. 38.17.

35. Vogel: *Catalogue—Mathura Museum* No. Q. 13.

36. IV. 37.

37. I. 5.9; 5.

38. 22.69.

39. III. 6.8.

40. IV. 2.35 p. 277.9.

41. IV. 1.33 p. 214.12.

not the fire—*prahutas*; and the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas (*trayaḥ pākayajña hutā agnau iyamānā anagnau prahutā brāhmaṇabhojane brāhmaṇihutāḥ*).⁴² Manus mentions four forms of this domestic sacrifice (*ye pākayajñas chatvārovidhiyajñasamanvitāḥ*).⁴³ According to the *Āpastamba Grihya Sūtra*,⁴⁴ it denoted ceremonies connected with worldly life, but Max Müller suggested⁴⁵ that the general name of the sacrifices, performed according to the *Grihya Sūtras*, was *Pākayajña*, where *Pāka* symbolised either 'small' or 'good'. Gautama mentions⁴⁶ seven kinds of *Pākayajñas* viz. the *Ashtaka Parvaṇa* (offered on the new and full moon days), the funeral oblations, *Śrāvaṇī*, *Āgrahāyaṇī*, *Chaitrī* and *Āsvayujī*. These are not mentioned by the *Bhāṣyakāra*, but they are described in detail in the *Āśvalāyana*,⁴⁷ *Gobhila*⁴⁸ and *Pāraskara*⁴⁹ *Grihya Sūtras*. One finds references to *Ashtaka*⁵⁰ and *Āgrahāyaṇī*⁵¹ but they are used in different senses.

The performance of the *Pañcha-mahāyajña* was incumbent on every householder (*sarveṇa cha grihasthena pañchamahāyajñā nirvartyā*).⁵² These, according to the *Smṛitikāras*,⁵³ were: sacrifice offered to the Brahman (*adhyāpanam brahmayajñah*), the offering of water (*tarpaṇa*) to the manes (*pitriyajñas tu tarpaṇam*), the burnt oblation—the sacrifice offered to the gods (*homaḥ prahuto*), the Bali offering to the Bhūtas (*bhavtiko bali*), and the hospitable reception of guests, the offering to men (*nriyajño tithipūjanam*). The oblations to Devas is alluded to in the expression (*sāyamprātar homa chārūpurodāśān nirvapati*),⁵⁴ but more information is available in rela-

42. I. 1.2:3.

43. II. 86; Cf. *Vasishtha* XXVI. 10.

44. I. 9.26.

45. *His. Anc. Sans. Lit.* p. 203.

46. VIII. 18.

47. I. 1.2.

48. III. 10 seq.

49. III. 3. seq.

50. IV. 2.104 p. 298.25

51. II. 3.38 p. 455.13.

52. IV. 1.33 p. 214.12.

53. *Manu* III. 70; *Cāut.* V. 3.5; *Yaj.* I. 20.

54. IV. 1.53 p. 214.12.

tion to manes. Besides the *havya* and *kavya* oblations, offered to gods and *pitrīs* respectively, it was necessary to perform *śrāddha*, and the person dining on that particular day was called *śrāddhi* or *śrāddhika* (*Śrāddham anena bhuktam*).⁵⁵ This is done even now for propitiating the manes, and for one's spiritual welfare. The wife joined her husband in the performance of sacrifices, and was entitled to an equal share of the fruits (*patnīsaṃyoja iti yatra yajñasaṃyogaḥ*), but this privilege was not accorded to a *śūdra* lady, despite her legal status (*evam api tushajakasya patnīti na sidhyati*).⁵⁶ Patañjali does not mention the penance for the non-performance of such sacrifices, but, according to Manu, such a person lives not though he breathes (*na nirvapati pañchānām uchchhvasan na sañjivati*).⁵⁷

Turāyaṇa was another kind of sacrifice mentioned by the Bhāṣhyakāra (*yas turāyaṇena yajate sa taurāyaṇika ity uchyate*).⁵⁸ It was one of the forms of the new full moon offerings which would extend to a year in duration.⁵⁹ The *Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* mentions *Turāyaṇa* as a *yajña* performed for the attainment of heaven (*sa esha svargakāmasya yajñah*).⁶⁰

Soma Drinking:

There is no reference in the *Mahābhāshya* to other kinds of Vedic sacrifices, like, *Jyotishṭoma* or *Ayushṭoma* which are mentioned by Pāṇini⁶¹ and were performed for obtaining longevity. Soma drinking was known, as Patañjali refers to *kunḍa-pāyya*⁶² at which ewers or pitchers were used. The other form was called *saṃchaya* which required the stocking or accumulation of Soma. It is mentioned in the same sūtra of Pāṇini,

55. II. 1.1 p. 361.21.

56. IV. 1.33 p. 214.11-12.

57. III. 72.

58. V. 1.72 p. 358.7i.

59. Keith: *Op. cit.* p. 324.

60. IV. 11.

61. VIII. 3.83.

62. III. 1.30 p. 89.16.

but is ignored by the Bhāshyakāra. He, however, refers to the drinking of Soma according to the Yājñika school, which conferred this privilege on that person alone in whose family no one had suffered social degradation during the preceding three generations. (*evam hi yājñikāḥ paṭhanti-daśapurushā nūkam yasya grihe śūdrā na vidyeran sa somam pibed iti*).⁶³ According to Manu, the economic prosperity of the individual weighed in his claim to drink Soma, that is, he possessed food, enough to last for three years or more, with which to maintain his dependents (*yasya trai vārshikam bhaktam paryāptam bhṛityavnattaye adhikam vā api vidyet sa somam pātum arhati*).⁶⁴ If the Soma was drunk with a stock less than the prescribed one (*svalpīyasi dravye yaḥ*), the labour was wasted (*na tasya āpnoti tat phalam*).⁶⁵

Minor Sacrifices:

There were certain minor sacrifices, like, *navayajña*⁶⁶ and *chāturmāsyā*.⁶⁷ The former, according to Gobhila,⁶⁸ was an offering of the first fruits of the harvest; and a mass of boiled rice grains with milk, sacred to Indra and Agni, was prepared. The latter represented three sacrifices performed at the beginning of the three seasons of four months, each viz. *Vaiśvadevam*, *Varuṇapraghāsaḥ* and *Sākamedhaḥ*.⁶⁹ These coincided with the beginning of three seasons on the full moon days of the month of Phālguna, Āshāḍha and Kārttika.⁷⁰ There are also references to certain other rites, as for instance, *Sthālīpāka*,⁷¹ *Chāru*,⁷² *Purodāsa*⁷³ and *Kapāla*,⁷⁴ which may be considered in detail later on.

63. IV. 1.93 p. 248.14.

64. XI. 7.

65. XI. 8.

66. IV. 2.35 p. 277.8.

67. V. 1.94 p. 360.21.

68. III. 8.9.

69. *Tait Sam.* i. 6.10.

70. *Vedic Index Vol. II*, p. 259 and ref.

71. IV.1.85 p. 237.8.

72. V.1.2 p. 337.15.

73. V.1.72 p. 358.9.

74. IV.1.88 p. 239.14.

Priests, Accessories and Duration of sacrifices:

The beginning of a Vedic sacrifice was preceded by the recitation of sacred mantras, popularly called *Svastivāchana*, which was followed by *Puṇyāha vāchana*, recited for wishing an auspicious day, while *Śānti vāchana*⁷⁵ averted an evil. The *Bhāshyakāra* actually refers to a mantra recited in a sacrifice—*asravantīm āruhemā svastaye*.⁷⁶ The principal ceremony was known as *Prayāja*.⁷⁷ Its performer was called *Ritvij*⁷⁸ and the sacrificer was known as *Yajamāna*.⁷⁹ The *Adhvaryu*⁸⁰ priest, distinct from the *Hotri*⁸¹ and *Udgātri*,⁸² had to perform numerous functions, like measuring the ground, building the altar, preparing sacrificial vessels, fetching wood and water, lighting the fire and finally bringing the animal to the sacrificial post and immolating it. While engaged in these duties, the hymns of the *Yajurveda* had to be repeated by him.⁸³ *Neshṭā* (*Neshtri*)—the other priest, mentioned in the Vedic literature,⁸⁴ was engaged in the ritual of the Soma sacrifice; as one of the chief officiating priests, he led forward the wife of the sacrificer, and prepared the *surā*. The priests connected with the *Rigveda* sacrifices and mentioned by Patañjali, are : *Hotā* (*Hotri*), and *Potā* (*Potri*).⁸⁵ The functions of the former are clearly defined in the *Rigveda*,⁸⁶ his chief duty being the recitation of the *Śastras*. The latter, too, was one of the priests mentioned in the *Rigveda*, and in the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁸⁷ It is presumed by its derivation from the root *pu*—to purify, that he was engaged in the purification of Soma, and he actually sang

75. V.1.111 p. 362.20.

76. III.1.86 p. 65.13.

77. I.1.1 p. 3.10.

78. I.1.27 p. 86.7.

79. II.2.49 p. 486.9.

80. I.1.3 p. 48.26 etc.

81. II.1.1 p. 372.11 etc.

82. II.4.1 p. 372.12 etc.

83. cf. RV.X.41.3; *Ait. Brāh.* 7.16 etc.84. RV.1.15.3. *Taitt Sam.* I.8.18, 1; *Ait. Brāh.* VI. 3.10; *Sat. Brāh.* III. 8.2.1.

85. II. 2.49 p. 486.9.

86. II. 1.2; 36.1 etc.

87. RV. I.94.6; II.5.2; *Ait. Brāh.* VI.10 et seq; *Sat Brāh.* IV.3.4.22.

Soma hymns. Oldenburg's suggestion⁸⁸ that he ceased in later literature to be a priest of any importance, save a mere name, may be true. Patañjali compares the two terms without further comments. The other priests mentioned by the Bhāshyākāra are : *Prāśāstā* (*Prāśāstri*) and *Pratihartā* (*Pratihartri*)⁸⁹ and *Agnīdha*.⁹⁰ Their functions are not defined, but in earlier times *Prāśāstri* appeared as 'Hotri's assistant'⁹¹ while *Pratihartri* was attached to the *Udgātri*, as we find in the *Saṁhitas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁹² The last one was connected with the *Atharvaveda* confining himself to the kindling of fire, as his designation suggests. There is, however, no reference in the *Mahābhāshya* to the requisitioning of their services in actual sacrifices.

The accessories to a sacrifice included, firstly, the special area with a place for recitation (*stuti—bhūmi*) and the *avas-kara*,⁹³ a pit for throwing refuse which are not mentioned by the Bhāshyākāra. The *kuśa*⁹⁴ grass, also called *Pavitra* in the *Kāśikā*,⁹⁵ was used in sacrifices. In the Soma sacrifice, the *Pūtikā* grass (*pūtikatrinā*) was substituted though Soma had not become obsolete (*Vede 'pi somasya sthāne pūtikatrināny abhishuṇuyād ity uchyate na cha tatra somo bhūtapūrvobhavati*).⁹⁶ Patañjali comments on the *Sūtra* relating to the irregular formation of the word '*dvaṁdva*' in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a limit, a separation, employing in a sacrificial vessel (*yajñapātra*), and manifestation,⁹⁷ but does not refer to that part relating to sacrificial cups which are accessories in a Vedic sacrifice. The oblation material was known as *sāmnāyya*,⁹⁸ a substance mixed with clarified

88. *Religion des Veda* pp. 383, 391, 395.

89. III.2.135 p. 130.23.

90. IV.3.120 p. 318.23.

91. RV. I.94. 6; *Vāj. Sam.* X.21; *Śat. Brāh.* IV.6.66 etc.

92. *Tait. Sam.* iii.3.1; *Tait Brāh.* i.8, 2, 3. *Sat Brāh.* IV. 3.4.22. etc.

93. IV.3.28.

94. II.2.34 p. 436.21.

95. III.2.185 p. 2.

96. I.1.56 p. 137.10.

97. VIII.1.15 p. 370.20f.

98. V.4.36 p. 435.16.

butter and offered as a burnt offering. It was especially an offering of the Agnihotris, consisting of milk taken from a cow on the evening of the new moon mixed on the next day with other milk, and offered with clarified butter.⁹⁹ The oblations were prepared or offered in five cups or bowls (*pañ-chakapāla*) or in ten (*daśakapāla*).¹⁰⁰ The Vedis were constructed for sacrificial purpose, but there is no reference to the material used in preparing these altars which needed special class of bricks, as mentioned by Pāṇini (*tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra itishtakāsu luk ca matoḥ*).¹⁰¹ The fire was kindled by the priest, followed by offering oblations with the recitation of mantras (*tathā agnau kapālāny adhisṛitya abhi-mantrayate*).¹⁰²

The important part in such sacrifices was the recitation of the mantras for involving Vedic deities. There was an injunction against the use of the *apa-śabd* in *yajñas* (*yajñe punaḥ karmaṇi nāpabhāsante*).¹⁰³ A bad sacrificer was called *yājñīkapāśa*. The mantras differed according to the nature of sacrifices. Patañjali refers to the *Rājasūya* mantras, as well as to those meant for the *Agnishṭoma* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices (*agnishṭome bhavo mantro 'gnishṭomah-rājasūyah vājapeyah*).¹⁰⁵ The technical word *juhoti* is used for those sacrificial ceremonies to which the root *hu* and not *yaj* is applied.¹⁰⁶ The adaptable nature of the Vedic mantras, with reference to case endings not provided for, may suggest that Patañjali had first hand information for sacrificial ceremonies (*na sarvair liṅgair na cha sarvābhir vibhaktibhir vede mantrā nigaditāḥ*).¹⁰⁷ The other technical words *udgrābha* and *nigrābha*¹⁰⁸ are used in the sense of 'the uplifting' and 'falling' of *śruka* (*udgrābhaḥ nigrābha iti imau 'śabdanu chhandasi vaktav-*

99. Cf. T.S. 2.5.3.3; T. Br. 3.2.3.11; *Sat. Brāh.* 1.6.2.6.

100. IV.1.88 p. 239.14.

101. IV.4.125.

102. I.1.1 p. 8.18.

103. I.1.1 p. 11.14

104. V.3.47 p. 411.6.

105. IV.3.66 p. 312.4.

106. II. 3.3 p. 444.

107. I. 1.1 p. 16.

108. III. 3.36 p. 148. 8-9.

yau srug. udyamānanipātanayor arthayoḥ).¹⁰⁹ It is equally interesting to notice the reference to the *Sāmidheni* mantras becoming seventeen in number by the threefold repetition of the first and the last hymns (*saptadaśa sāmidenyo bhavanti triḥ prathamām anvāha trir uttamām ity āvrittitaḥ saptadaśatvam bhavati*).¹¹⁰ He also comments on the *Sūtra ye yajña-karmaṇi*, giving special accentuation to the vowel of *ye* forming part of the sentence '*ye yajāmahe*' which was to be uttered with circumflex accent (*pluta*) only, during the process of the sacrifice (*ye yajāmahe śabdo brūhyādishu upasamīkhyeyaḥ*).¹¹¹ The muttering of the mantras generally accompanied the burning of *yajñasamidh*, as is done even now (*bhrīṣaṁ japati brāhmaṇaḥ bhrīṣaṁ samidho dahatīty eva*).¹¹²

The duration of sacrifices, fruits accruing from them, the *dakṣiṇā* given to the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the latter's relation with the *yajamāna* are some other minor points worth consideration. The *Bhāṣhyakāra* has referred to the *yajñas* lasting for a hundred, or even a thousand years, (*dīrgha sattrāṇi vārshaśatikāni vārshasahasrikāṇi cha*); but they were no longer in practice, and only heard of in ritualistic portion of the Vedic literature (*na cha adyatve kaśchid api vyavaharati kevalam rishi sampradāyo dharma iti kṛtvā yājñikāḥ śāstreṇa anuvīdhate*).¹¹³ There were others lasting for four months (*chaturshu māseshu bhavāni chāturmāsyaṇi yajñāḥ*).¹¹⁴ The *Pāṇchamahāyajña* was to be performed every day. As regards the fruits of a sacrifice, the performer of an *Agnisṭoma* was supposed to be free from rebirth (*kuto nu khalv etad agnisṭoma yājīty etad upapadam bhaviṣyati na punar jānitelī*).¹¹⁵ The sacrificial fee—*dakṣiṇā*, however, varied. *Patañjali* refers to a gelded bull as *dakṣiṇā* (*mahānirashṭo dakṣiṇā dīyate*).¹¹⁶ The relations between the priests and the *yajamānas* were of

109. Ibid.

110. I. 1.2 p. 17. 23-24.

111. VIII. 2.88. p. 419.5.

112. III. 1.22 p. 30.13.

113. I. 1.1 p. 9-15-17.

114. V. 1.94 p. 361.2.

115. III. 4.1 p. 168.10.

116. V. 2.38 p. 125.21.

a cordial nature, known as *śrauyasambandha*,¹¹⁷ that is, relationship through *śruvā* or ladle which was placed on a par with others emanating from money (*artha*), blood (*yauna*) and education (*maukha*).

Vedic Gods :

The list of Vedic deities, noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya* is not as comprehensive as we find in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, and this is an indication of the swing towards popular divinities, especially, those connected with the cult of *bhakti* or devotion. A few Vedic ones are also noticed, like, Indra, Śakra, Puruhūta, and Puraṁdara, which were, no doubt, different names of one god (*bahavo hi śabdā ekārthā bhavanti*).¹¹⁸ The principal Vedic deities noticed are : Agni,¹¹⁹ Vāyu,¹²⁰ Sūrya,¹²¹ Rudra (*Paśunā Rudraṁ yajate*),¹²² Prajāpati (*esha vai saptaśāksharāś chhandasyaḥ prajāpatir yajñam anuvihitaḥ*).¹²³ Marut (*agnir vā ito vrishtim itṭe maruto 'mutas chyāvayantīti*),¹²⁴ Apāmnāptri, mentioned by Pāṇini also in the same *Sūtra* (*aponaptrapāmnaptribhyām ghah*), Varuṇa, Vāyu and Āditya (*Indras tvashṭā varuṇo vāyur āditya*),¹²⁵ and Viṣṇu,¹²⁶ who enjoyed a high position amongst the votaries of the Bhāgavata cult. There are also references to dual divinities, like Mitra and Varuṇa (*Mitravarṇau ijjamānaḥ*),¹²⁷ Dyau and Prithivī (*Dyāvāprithivī*)¹²⁸ Agni and Soma (*Agni-Somau*)¹²⁹ and Vāyu-Varuṇa (*Vāyu-Varuṇam*).¹³⁰

117. I. 1.49 p. 119.21.

118. I. 2.45 p. 220.1.

119. I. 1.1 p. 1.5.

120. VI. 3.26 p. 148.21.

121. II. 2.11 p. 414.14.

122. I. 4.32 p. 331.3.

123. IV. 4.140 p. 335.8.

124. I. 3.1 p. 256.13.

125. II. 2.29 p. 431.5.

126. VI. 1.36 p. 30.18.

127. VI. 1.108 p. 82.2.

128. III. 2.107 p. 114.21.

129. VIII. 3.82 p. 445.19.

130. VI. 3.42 p. 158.3.

Post-Vedic Deities :

These include some Vedic ones as well whose worship was continued in that period. A few names are synonymous. Indra with his other names, mentioned earlier, is praised a number of times for his killing the demon Vritra and is styled *Vritrahan*.¹³¹ Śiva and Viṣṇu were very popular with separate cults. The former is given other names like, Bhava, Śarva,¹³² *Giriśa* (*gīrau śete Giriśaḥ*),¹³³ *Mahādeva* (*Kakud- doṣaṇi yāchate Mahādevaḥ*),¹³⁴ and *Trayambaka* (*Trayam- bakam yajāmahe*).¹³⁵ These are some of the eight names of Śiva mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.¹³⁶ Skanda (*Kārttikeya*) is also mentioned in association with Viśākha.¹³⁷ Patañjali seems to mention the synonyms of certain deities in the expres- sion—*Brahmaprajāpati Sivavaisravaṇau Skandaviśākha*.¹³⁸ *Krishṇa*¹³⁹ also figures prominently. The deities were supposed to possess infinite wisdom (*devājñātum arhanti*).¹⁴⁰ The gods of constellations—the sun and the moon were also venerated (*ādityam upatishṭhate chandramāsam upatishṭhate*).¹⁴¹ The Pauranic conception of heaven and hell (*naraka*),¹⁴² the emer- gence of the Kaliyuga (*kalirdevatāsyā kāleya's charuḥ*)¹⁴³ and the fight between the Devas and Asuras (*devāsuraṃ—rāksha- sosuram*)¹⁴⁴ was well-known. One also finds certain particular popular features like, emphasis on charity which entitled one to a place in heaven (*yo bhavatām odanam dāsyati sa svargaṃ lokam gamishyati*).¹⁴⁵ There is a reference to gods, called

131. I. 1.39 p. 97.20.

132. III. 134 p. 91.14.

133. III. 2.15 p. 100.19.

134. VI. 1.63 p. 41.20.

135. VI. 4.77 p. 209.22.

136. VI. 93.2, VII. 87.1; XI. 2.1.4.

137. V. 3.99 p. 429.2.

138. VI. 3.26 p. 148.23.24.

139. I. 1.4 p. 53.9.

140. VIII. 3.72 p. 443.23.

141. I. 3.25 p. 281.6.

142. VI. 1.7 p. 12.6.

143. VI. 2.7 p. 273.12.

144. IV. 3.125 p. 319.16.

145. III. 3.7 p. 140.8.

Nilimpā classed as supernatural beings (*nilimpānāma.devāḥ*).¹⁴⁶ The images of these deities were worshipped by the people.

Certain female divinities mentioned are : Lakshmi,¹⁴⁷ wife of Vishṇu; and Suparṇī.¹⁴⁸ Patañjali, commenting on II.2.34, has also noticed, or probably composed a verse in which it is stated that certain musical instruments were played in a gathering in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava (*mridaṅga śaṅkhā tūṇavāḥ prithaṇi nandanti saṁsadi prāsāde dhanapatirāmakeśavānām*).¹⁴⁹ Rāma and Keśava are rightly identified with Balarāma and Krishṇa and it is clear from this reference that there were festive gatherings at that time in their temples.

Images :

Pāṇini mentions the term *Pratikṛiti*,¹⁵⁰ meaning portraits, but Patañjali uses the word *archā* denoting images. The famous *sūtra Jīvikārthe chāpaṇye*, which has been the subject of so much discussion is helpful on this point. These images were not saleable (*apaṇya*), but were kept in temples for the purpose of worship (*yās ty etāḥ sampratipūjārḥās tāsū bhaviṣyati*), serving, incidentally, as means of livelihood to their owners. The comment on this *sūtra* questions the validity of the dropping of *ka* in such forms as, *Śivaḥ*, *Skandah* and *Viśākhah*, since the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, sold objects of worship (*Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir archaḥ prakalpitāḥ*).¹⁵¹ It is important for two reasons : firstly, it testifies to the worship of these divinities in that period, and secondly, it refers to the metal used for making these images. Kautilya has also referred to the installation of the images of Śiva and Vaiśravaṇa in temples (*Śivavaiśravaṇāśvisrīmāṇḍirāgrihaṁ cha purāmadhye kārayet*).¹⁵² The *Gaṇapāthā* cites the compound.

146. III. 1.138 p. 92.12.

147. I. 4.3 p. 313.17.

148. IV. 1.44 p. 206.22.

149. II. 2.34 p. 436.5.

150. V. 3.36.

151. V. 3.99 p. 429.

152. II. 4 p. 55.

Skandaviśākhau along with *Brahmaprajāpati*, and *Śivavaiśra-vaṇau*.¹⁵³ According to the *Bhāṣhyakāra*, these gods were not mentioned in pairs in Vedic literature, but only in *loka (vartamāne punar dvandvagrahaṇasya elat prayojanam loka-vedayor yo dvandvas tatra yathā syāt na cha vede sahanirvāpā nirdiśṭaḥ)*.¹⁵⁴

The cult of the Yakshas and Nāgas, with their female counterparts, whose statues have been found, is another phase in the study of popular divinities in that period. It is natural to presume that devotion or *bhakti* played an important part in the setting up of these images. As regards the antiquity of Skanda and Viśākha, they seem to be earlier than the time of Patañjali. According to D. R. Bhandarkar,¹⁵⁵ Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsenā were in olden days names of four different gods. He based his contention on the reference to Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsenā with separate figures on the coins of Huvishka, and Amarsimha's allusion to only one of the four names in each of the four lines of his two verses relating to Kārttikeya. R. G. Bhandarkar¹⁵⁶ had suggested that the three names represented only one deity on Huvishka's coins. The distinct individuality of the two divinities seems clear from the reference in the *Mahābhāṣya*, though the evidence is considered inconclusive by those who attach importance to the absence of Viśākha's name, as a deity, in early or later literature.¹⁵⁷

Bhaktism—Bhāgavata cult:

The feeling of devotion or attachment to a particular deity, recognising others as manifestations of the same, was not new to this period. Its existence can be traced in earlier literature. Pāṇini seems to refer to it in his reference to Vāsudeva and Arjuna in the *sūtra—Vāsudevārjunābhyām*

153. II. 4. 14.

154. VI. 3. 26 p. 149. 2.

155. Carmichael *Lectures*, 1921, pp. 22-23.

156. *Vaishnavism, Saivism* etc. p. 151.

157. IHQ. Vol. VII, p. 315.

*van.*¹⁵⁸ It is clear, as suggested in the *Kāśikā*, that *Vāsudeva* mentioned in this sūtra was not a Kshatriya name but that of Krishna, and the person attached to him was known as *Vāsu-devaka* (*Vāsudevobhaktir asya Vāsudevakah*).¹⁵⁹ The propitiation of deities is implied in another sūtra of Pāṇini which refers to the morphology of names, as *Varuṇadatta* and *Āryamadatta*; the ending *datta* denoted a benediction from a god, or a higher power of which the personal name became a symbolic expression (*kāṛakādattaśrutayor—evāśisi*).¹⁶⁰ It is, therefore, presumed that the Bhakti cult dates back, at least, to the time of the *Sūtrakāra*. R. G. Bhandarkar had suggested¹⁶¹ two religious movements during the period of intellectual ferment: the one in the east, which believed in self-abnegation and a course of strict moral conduct; and the other connected with the *Śātvatas* in western India which attached importance to devotion in a supreme God. The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* traces the evolution of the second course. The supreme God is named Hari whose worship is not completely free from religious sacrifices. The next stage is marked by the association of *Vāsudeva* with his son, grandson, and brother, who became objects of veneration presiding over certain psychological categories, or as persons created by Him for the purpose. Patañjali has given interesting information on this point. *Vāsudeva* and *Bāladeva* are classed by him¹⁶² as derivatives from *Vṛishṇi* names in the sense of sons of *Vāsudeva* and *Baladeva*.

It is contended that the *Sātvatas* of the *Mahābhārata* was another name of the *Vṛishṇi* race to which *Vāsudeva*, *Samkarshaṇa* and *Aniruddha* belonged. The religion of the *Sātvatas*, associated with *Vāsudeva* in the *Mahābhārata*, culminated in the time of Patañjali when other members, connected with *Vāsudeva*, were also revered. The life and activities of the supreme lord became objects of exhibition to the people in different ways. Patañjali, besides mentioning the

158. IV. 3.98.

159. p. 343.

160. VI. 2.148.

161. Op. cit. p. 9f.

162. V. 1.144 p. 257.11-12.

names of Krishna and Janārdana,¹⁶³ the synonyms of Vāsudeva, also referred to the festive gatherings in the temples of Keśava (*Vāsudeva*) and Rāma (*Balarāma*). The reference¹⁶⁴ to Vāsudeva-bhaktas, the staging of *Bali-bandha*—connected with Vishnu, and the slaying of Kamsa by Krishna himself, are some of the additional proofs of the growing spirit of devotion to the Lord who was addressed by different names. There is a reference to the Vyūha of Krishna and his acolytes (*Janārdhanas tv ātmachaturtha eva*),¹⁶⁵ meaning 'Janārdhana, whose self is the fourth in a constituent group'. The Vedic god Vishnu, later a synonym of Vāsudeva, is compounded with Indra in one reference,¹⁶⁶ and with Agni in another.¹⁶⁷ This need not mislead us in presuming distinct personalities of Vishnu, Vāsudeva and Krishna. It is true that Vishnu, as a Vedic deity, was frequently invoked, though not placed in the foremost rank; but in the post-Vedic period he assumed the supreme place condescending to become incarnate for the emancipation of human beings. It may, therefore, be suggested that one stream of religious thought emanated from Vishnu, the Vedic god; the other from Vāsudeva, the historic personality associated at first with the Sātvatas and these two, mingling with another merging with Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic god, gave rise to the cult of Vishnu-Vāsudeva Bhaktism. The identification of Vāsudeva and Krishna with Vishnu is established, and Keith referred¹⁶⁸ to it long ago. The evidence from the epigraphic and archaeological sources, is also helpful in assessing the nature and flourishing state of this cult which attracted even foreigners.

Amongst the epigraphic records of this period, the most important one is the Besnagar pillar inscription, which mentions the setting up of the Garuḍa column (*garuḍadhvaja*) of Vāsudeva, the god of gods (*devadeva*) by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata, son of Dion and an inhabitant of Taxila who came as

163. VI. 3.5 p. 143.7.

164. III. 1.26 p. 34.16; p. 36.19.

165. VI. 3.5 p. 143.7.

166. VI. 1.36 p. 30.18.

167. VI. 3.28 p. 149.5.

168. JRAS. 1908 p. 169f.

Greek Ambassador from King Antialkidas to Kāśīputra King Bhāgabhadra. A fragment of the shaft of another octogonal column, evidently from Besnagar, and found in a narrow street at Bhilsa, bears a Brāhmī inscription in one line recording the erection of the Garuḍa column of the excellent temple of the Bhāgavat (*Bhagavataḥ prāsādo*) by Gautamīputra, a Bhāgavata. These two records¹⁶⁹ from Besnagar are Vaishṇavite in character, since Garuḍa appears as the Vāhana of Viṣṇu. According to the *Mahābhārata*, Garuḍa, in return for boons granted to him by Viṣṇu, himself offered a boon to him who made the bird his vehicle.¹⁷⁰

The next inscription¹⁷¹ is the Ghasundī stone slab found about 4 miles north-east of Nāgari in the Udaipur State (Rajasthan). It is engraved in Brāhmī characters of the second century B.C., and records the erection of a stone enclosure of worship for Bhāgavat Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva, within the enclosure of Nārāyaṇa, by Bhāgavata Gajāyana, son of Parāsari. The Nārāyaṇavata, or the enclosure of the Lord, denotes the compound of a temple or place of worship, while *Pūjaśilā-prākāra* stands for Bhāgavat Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva, evidently referring to a smaller stone enclosure, probably, round the images representing Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva within the Nārāyaṇavata. The cosmic philosophic god Nārāyaṇa, whose name is not traced in the *Mahābhāshya*, thus, completes the *trivenī* or the three streams of thought mingling together to form the cult of Vaishṇavism.

Now, as regards the relation of Saṅkarshaṇa with Vāsudeva, the Nanaghat cave inscription¹⁷² mentions them as the descendants of the moon (*Chāṇḍa-Chandra*) along with *Dhamma (Dharma)*, *Ida (Indra)* and the guardians of the four cardinal points: Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Vāsudeva. R. P. Chanda, quoting the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata*, and Śāṅkara's commentary on the *Vedānta-Sūtras*

169. ASI. An. Rep. 1913-14 Pt. II. p. 190.

170. IL. 1510.

171. Lüders List E. I. Vol. X, Appendix No. 6.

172. ibid No. 1112.

suggested¹⁷³ that these two of the forms (*Vyūhas*) were worshipped by the *Pañcharātras* or *Bhāgavatas*. The *Vyūhas* were *Vāsudeva*, or the highest self *Samkarshana*, or the individual soul, *Pradyumna* or the mind (*manas*), and *Aniruddha* or the principle of egoism (*ahamkāra*) in descending order; and according to the orthodox view, the highest *Brahman* called *Vāsudeva* abides in a four fold form, or reveals itself by dividing its four-fold as the four *vyūhas*. In all these expositions, *Vāsudeva* is mentioned first, followed by *Samkarshana*. In this inscription the order is reversed, and it is presumed that in those days *Samkarshana* was popularly recognised as a divinity equalling *Vāsudeva* in rank. Kautilya also mentions¹⁷⁴ this god. R. P. Chanda, therefore, suggested two forms of *Vāsudevism*—the worship of *Vāsudeva*, as 'the god of gods', and also as a god second to *Samkarshana*, in the second century B.C. thereby, indicating that the basic cult originated at a much earlier period.

Another record is the Mora stone slab inscription¹⁷⁵ of the time Mahākshatrapa Rājuvula. Though it is placed about the early part of the first century A.D., its importance lies here in the second line beginning with—*Bhāgavatā (vri) (sh) ne (na) Pañchavīrānām pratimā*. If *Bhāgavatā Vrishṇena* is construed as *Bhāgavato vrishṇeḥ* as suggested by Chanda,¹⁷⁶ then it may refer to the setting up of an image of the blessed or the divine *Vrishṇi*, that is Krishna-Vāsudeva, who belonged to the *Vrishṇi* branch of the Yādava race (*Vrishṇīnām Vāsudevo 'smi*).¹⁷⁷ A Mathurā inscription¹⁷⁸ of the time of the great Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, son of Rājuvula, also refers to the shrine of the Bhāgavat Vāsudeva (*Bhāgavato Vāsudevasya mahāsthāna*).

Now the association of Vāsudeva with Baladeva and the Vrishṇis is also noted by Patañjali (*Vāsudevaḥ—Bāladevaḥ—*

173. *Archæology and Vaishnava tradition* p. 164.

174. P. 403.

175. Lüders List—Op. cit. No. 14.

176. Op. cit p. 166.

177. *Bhag. Gita*. Chap. X 37.

178. Lüders List—Op. cit.

nyasya sa eva—viṣvakseno nāma vriṣṇis tasmād ubhayām prāpnoti).¹⁷⁹ On the basis of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, the following conclusions may be drawn—Firstly, the Bhāgavata cult is not new to this period, but dates back, at least, to the time of Pāṇini. Secondly, Viṣṇu, the Vedic deity, was identified with Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Kriṣṇa, a general name Vāsudeva—Bhāgavata cult denoted Vaiṣṇavism. Thirdly, both Balarāma and Vāsudeva, who were historical personalities associated with the Vriṣṇis, had attained divine status, with their images consecrated in temples where there were festive gatherings. Fourthly, the *Vyūhas* of Vāsudeva also found a place in the divine pantheon. It is clear that Saṅkarshaṇa enjoyed a divine position along with Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu. Thus, what was supposed to be a localized religious stream of thought, gradually expanded in eastern and southern directions. This cult, a synthesis of different religious thoughts, also attracted foreigners.

Saivism:

There are two references in the *Mahābhāshya* which suggest a separate cult of the Śaivas, the devotees of Śiva: *Śiva bhāgavata*¹⁸⁰ and *Śiva-vaiśravaṇau*.¹⁸¹ The first refers to the devotees of Śiva who carried an iron lance, as the emblem of that deity (*yo 'yaḥśūlena anvichṇhati sa āyaḥ śūlikaḥ kim chātaḥ Śiva bhāgavate prāpnoti*). It is suggested¹⁸² that, despite the inapplicability of the word *āyaḥ śūlika* in its literal sense to Śiva-bhāgavata, the meaning 'one who took recourse to extreme harsh or rash measures to seek an end, which could be secured by milder methods', alludes to the existence of this cult, whose members used an iron spear as a distinctive mark. One, however, feels that the two classes of Śiva devotees have to be distinguished—the *Āyaḥ śūlikas* carried an iron trident or *triśula* and practised penance and other *dhūta* rites; but there were lay devotees who propitiated the benign deity

179. IV. 1.114 p. 257.11-12.

180. V. 2.76 p. 387.19.

181. VI. 3.26 p. 148.23.

182. I.A. Vol. XLI. p. 272.

through their offerings. A sentence in the comment on the sūtra *Jivakārthe chāpanye* refers to the *archā* or image of Śiva which was placed in front for the purpose of worship (*yās tv elāḥ samprati pūjārthās tāsu bhaviṣhyati*).¹⁸³ Linga worship had not come into form by that time. Śiva, Skanda and Viṣṇu were adored by many people, and their images were a source of living to their keepers. The evidence, advanced by the *Atharva Śirasa Upanishad* and the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata*, on the position of Śiva as a divinity and the different branches or offshoots of Śaivism is valuable. The former designates him as a *Bhāgavat*, while the latter refers to *Pāśupata*, as one of the five schools of religious doctrines which had revelations from Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha. This school, according to R. G. Bhandarkar,¹⁸⁴ rose about the second century B.C., but it is not mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*. One can hardly deny that Śaivism, as a separate cult, existed earlier than the time of Patañjali in the light of Megasthenes' reference¹⁸⁵ to the cults of Dionysus and Heracles, and the evidence furnished by the *Mahābhārata* on this point, but it is difficult to suggest the different schools into which it had branched off in that period. To be more precise, it may be proposed that the votaries of Śiva included those who took recourse to harsh and rash measures for seeking their end, as well as ordinary lay worshippers who believed in propitiation through devotion.

Ascetic Orders:

Groups of wandering mendicants, or those living in solitary meditation were not unknown. Patañjali tries to explain their philosophy which upheld inaction, and their creed was different from that of the Brāhmaṇa or Śramaṇa religious groups. The practice of asceticism served to reveal supreme wisdom (*tapas tāpasam sedhayati*).¹⁸⁶ The ascetics were noted for their matted hair (*jaṭā*),¹⁸⁷ beard (*śmaśru*), and the use of a

183. V. 3.99 p. 429.4.

184. *Op. cit.* p. 116.

185. CHI. Vol. I, p. 408.

186. V. 1.49 p. 38.7.

187. VI. 1.48 p. 37.20.

water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*).¹⁸⁸ The staffs (*daṇḍa*) varied according to the groups—as for instance, the *Parivrājaka* had three staves (*trivishṭabdhakam drishtvā parivrājaka iti*), but a *Daṇḍin* had a single *kshatra*.¹⁸⁹ The *Parivrājakas* are also mentioned by Pāṇini in his sūtra—*Maskaramaskarīṇau Venuparivrājaka-yoh*.¹⁹⁰ This ascetic order included a *Maskarin*, and it is suggested by Patañjali in his comment that a *Maskarin Parivrājaka* was so called, not because of his *maskara*—the bamboo staff (*na vai maskaro 'syāstīti maskari parivrājaka*), but for his doctrine of inactivity seeking peace as the highest end (*mā kṛta karmāṇi mā kṛta karmāṇi śāntir vaḥ 'sreyas ity ahato maskari parivrājakah*).¹⁹¹ This policy was endorsed by the Ājīvikas who believed in quietism. According to the Buddhist literature,¹⁹² the Ājīvikas recognised only three as their leaders—Nanda, Vachchha, Kisa-Sankichcha and Makkhali Gośāla. Their precept *nātthi kammaṃ nātthi kiriyam nātthi viriyam*, also set forth at greater length in the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*,¹⁹³ suggests that the attainment of a given condition of any character does not depend either on one's own acts, or on those of another, or on human effort. There is no such thing as power or energy, strength or human vigour.¹⁹⁴

The identification of *Maskarins* with the Ājīvikas is fairly certain, and it is confirmed by the fact that Gośāla, the last of the leaders, is called *Makkhali*—the *Pālī* form of Sanskrit *Maskarin* in *Pālī* literature. A late work, quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar,¹⁹⁵ also suggests the identity of the Ājīvikas with the *Maskarins*, and it is proposed on the basis of the reference to the word *śikhin* of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, agreeing with the *uttuṅgaajāṭa* of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, that an Ājīvika was really a *tridaṇḍin*, and not an *ekadaṇḍin*, as supposed by Utpala. The

188. II. 3.4 p. 445.7.

189. II. 1.1 p. 365.21.

190. VI. 1.154.

191. Ibid, p. 96.12-13.

192. *Maj.* 5. 524, *Vin.* i. 291.

193. I, 53.54.

194. Rhys-Davids: *Dial.* Vol. I p. 71f.

195. I.A. Vol. XLI. 1912 p. 290.

tridaṇḍin Parivrājaka, mentioned by Patañjali, may be taken as an Ājīvika in the general sense. It is probable that the Bhāshyakāra, while referring to the Parivrājakas as identical with Maskarins, had in mind the system of the Ājīvikas who had lately received benefactions of caves at Nāgārjunī from Emperor Dasaratha of the Mauryan dynasty.¹⁹⁶ They are not noticed separately. The group also included female ascetics (*śaṅkarā nāmaparivrājakā*).¹⁹⁷

The Daṇḍins,¹⁹⁸ with a single staff, formed a separate group dating back to the period of Brāhmaṇas,¹⁹⁹ and are mentioned by Pāṇini,²⁰⁰ and Manu,²⁰¹ as well. Manu actually describes their appearance. The Daishṭikas (*disṭam ity asya matir daishṭikaḥ*),²⁰² mentioned in analogy to the other two terms—*āstika* and *nāstika*, probably belonged to the school of Makkhali which repudiated *karman* as the means of attaining one's end.

The Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas had separate orders, in constant opposition to the other (*yeshāṃ cha virodha ity asya avakāśaḥ*).²⁰³ The term *śramaṇa* included all non-Brahmanical orders. The earliest reference to this clear-cut division is given by Megasthenes, who mentions²⁰⁴ Brachmanes or the Brāhmaṇas and Garmanes viz. Śramaṇas. The distinction is maintained in Aśokan inscriptions as well. According to the Udāna, there were various sects of Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas—followers of different *Diṭṭhis*, that is, systems of *Darśanas*, and having separate organisations (*sambahulā nānādiṭṭhiyā samaṇabrāhmaṇā-paribbājaka savatthim paṇḍāya pavisanti nānādiṭṭhikā nānākhaṇṭikā nānāruchikā nānādiṭṭhinissayanissita*).²⁰⁵ The

196. C.I.I. Vol. I pp. 103-4; 134.5.

197. III. 2.14 p. 100.6.

198. V. 2.94 p. 393.19.

199. *Sat, Brāh.* XIII. 4.2.15.

200. V. 2.115.

201. VI. 52. *Kliptakeśa-nakha-śmaśruḥ pātri daṇḍi kusumbhavān vicharena niyato nityaṃ sarvabhūtaṇy apidayan.*

202. IV. 4.60 p. 332.19.

203. II. 4.12 p. 476.9.

204. *Frag.* XLI—Strabo XV. i. 59.

205. P.T.S. 1885 p. 66.

two classes of ascetics, called *Parivrājakas*, or the wandering class, have been mentioned in the Buddhist literature²⁰⁶ under two main headings—the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Aññatilthiyas*. It seems that the word *śramaṇa*, mentioned by Patañjali, denoted ascetic orders distinct from those of the *Brāhmaṇas*, though its use may have been restricted to Buddhists alone during certain times. The *Bhāṣyakāra* has not mentioned *śramaṇī*—Pāli *samanī*—the female ascetics who are referred to in the *Samyutta Nikāya*.²⁰⁷ The practice of initiating ladies was forbidden, except at the *Vānaprastha* stage along with their husbands (*strīyām cha pravrajayataḥ*),²⁰⁸ but things were different in the *Śramaṇa* orders—both Buddhist and Jains.

Popular Religious Beliefs:

The keynote of Indian religious belief has been the emphasis laid on the spiritual and moral side of human life, resulting in people's anxiety to perform good deeds. This spirit prompted them to create dedications for some sacred purpose. The endowments at Bhārhut, and on the railing at Sāñchī, which were made in this period, are exclusively Buddhist; but one finds a peculiar phenomenon which was first pointed out by Bühler, and later considered afresh by John Marshall. Bühler referred²⁰⁹ to the existence of Pauranic worship at the time when these records were inscribed. If name could be suggestive of the religious beliefs then those like Arhadatta, Dharmarakhita, Bodhi, and Saṃgharakhita are Buddhist; Agideva and Viśvadeva relate to ancient Vedic worship. Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism seem evident from such names like, Nāga, Nāgila and Nāgadatta; Viṇhuka and Opedadatta; and Nādiguta, Samikā and Śivanandi respectively. J. Marshall points²¹⁰ to the Yaksha cult, evidently on the basis of names such as, Yakhadāsi, Yakhadina, Yakhī and Yakhila. The presence of these folk cults in the second century B.C., is proved

206. *Ang.* I. 65, 240; *Dig.* III. 115.

207. I. 333 cf. also *Jat.* V. 424, *Vin.* IV. 235.

208. Kauṭilya: *Arthasāstra* II. 1.

209. E.I. Vol. II, p. 95.

210. *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, p. 299.

by Yakshā and Yakshī figures on the balustrade of the Bhārhut stūpa. In case the donors were interested in Pauranic worship, as suggested by Bühler, then how are they associated with Buddhist dedications? Did Buddha have a place in the Brahmanical pantheon, or was he adored by the worshippers of the demi-gods, or did the people believe in eclecticism? The answer to the questions is quite simple. It is probable that the donors were all Buddhists, and the use of these affixes is not a sure proof of the existence of these cults; but one may take a broader view and presume that the ordinary people in that period were anxious to obtain merit from whatever quarter, and through whatever process it was available. Therefore, these donors did not hesitate to make endowments for Buddhism, because they thought that by so doing they could acquire merit in the next world. This catholic outlook of a Hindu, even at present, prompts him to visit the Bodh-Gaya temple and give *dakshinā* when he visits Gaya for performing *Pitri* oblations.

People also worshipped the lower order of divine beings—the *Yakshas* and the *Nāgas*—for fear of their destructive powers, and with a desire to obtain boons from them. This is evident from numerous statues of such demi-gods which have been found with inscriptions recorded on them, and their figures carved on the Bhārhut gateway and those at Sāñchī. According to Coomaraswamy,²¹¹ Yaksha worship was a bhakti cult, with images, temples, altars and offerings, and as the greater deities of all, from a popular point of view, be regarded as Yakshas', we may safely recognize in the worship of the latter (together with Nāgas and goddesses) the natural source of the Bhakti cult, common to the whole sectarian development, which was taking place before the beginning of the Kushāna period. This shows that the people at that time were not sectarian in their outlook. The Hindu Ethics enjoins every householder certain moral and spiritual obligations, and stress is laid on '*śraddhā*'²¹² and '*tyāga*'²¹³—faith and a spirit of sacrifice, classed holder as *dharmaniyamas* (*dharmāya niyamo dharmaniyamaḥ*—

211. *Yakshas*, p. 37.

212. I. 4.59 p. 341.23.

213. III. 1.26 p. 34.5.

dharmārtho vā niyamo dharmaniyamah),²¹⁴ meaning 'a restriction on oneself for the sake of religious merit as its result, or with religious merit as its object. The popular belief in ethical and moral responsibilities was deep-rooted in the masses.

Buddhism:

Popular religion of which the fabric was woven out of cults and traces, as pointed out by John Marshall²¹⁵, did not leave Buddhism unaffected. The sculptures at Bhārhut and Sāñchī furnish numerous illustrations of sacred objects and divinities, drawn from the ancient religions of the people. Names might have changed, but the cults remained immutable. Such cults were taken over by Buddhism from the popular religion of the masses, and for the masses. The icon of the Buddha had not yet come into existence, but the relic worship had acquired a significant and important place in the Buddhist form of worship. As parts of the body of the Lord, they served to create in the mind of the devotee a feeling of personal devotion and allegiance. Besides the Tathāgata, some of his important disciples like Sāriputra and Moggallāna, also claimed the privilege of their relics being enshrined in stūpas. This stage, probably, reached in the Śuṅga Period. As regards the anti-Buddhist attitude of the first Śuṅga monarch, J. Marshall hinted at the probable destruction of the earlier Sāñchī Stūpa by this ruler, but we would like to leave the matter open without any comment. It is, however, clear that Buddhism was not inactive in this period. In an inscription²¹⁶ on the railing of the Sāñchī Stūpa, there is a reference to *āchariya-kula*—a technical expression meaning 'a Buddhist school', and *annāchariyakula*—'the other school'. It refers to an injunction against the removal of any property from Kākanāda to a non-Theravādin community, thereby suggesting that another school, probably of the Mahāsaṅghikas, had established itself at Sāñchī in the first century B.C. The conservative school of the Theravādins became apprehensive of the dismemberment of their sacred edifice.

214. I. 1.1 p. 8.4-5.

215. Op. cit. p. 24.

216. JBORS. Vol. III. p. 425f.

According to Kern,²¹⁷ in the three centuries which elapsed between the death of Aśoka and the reign of Kanishka, Buddhism was steadily on the increase in the North, flourishing in the domains of the Bactrian Greeks. The chronology based on literary documents being confused, it is unsafe to deduce any historical fact from traditions. It is a pity that, except for the clear-cut evidence regarding the active state of Buddhism from the monuments and the epigraphic sources, literary proof is wanting.

Jainism:

The Hāthīgumphā inscription,²¹⁸ and a few others from Mathurā record dedications for Jainism. The invocation of the formulae (*Namo arihaṃtānaṃ namo Savasiddhānaṃ*); the contents of the Kalinga record, and other old Brāhmī inscriptions²¹⁹ disclose the activity of this religious order. It enjoyed the patronage of King Khāravela and other donors. Inscription No. 11 of Khāravela's chief queen records that the cave commemorating her name was cut for the sake of Kalinga recluses of Arhata persuasion (*Arhanta pasādānaṃ Kalingānaṃ Samanānaṃ*). During the thirteen years of Khāravela's reign, some 117 caves were excavated on the Kumāri hill to serve as resting places for the Arhats, or Jains residing there (*Arhato parinivāsato hi kāya nisidiyaya*).²²⁰ Besides Kalinga, Mathurā was also an important centre of Jainism. Amongst the inscriptions, found and edited by Bühler, the earliest one has been assigned by him to the middle of the second century B.C., because of its exceedingly archaic characters and its language—pure Prākṛit of the Pāli type. This inscription²²¹ records dedication of an ornamental arch for the temple, the gift of the lay hearer Uttaradāsaka (Uttaradāsaka), son of *Vachchī* (Vatsī), mother and disciple of the ascetic Mahārakhita (Mahārakshita). The Amohinī tablet inscription, dated in the year 42 of the time of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa is another Jain record of about

217. *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 48.

218. JBORS. Vol. III, p. 425f.

219. D. R. Bhandarkar Volume pp. 279f.

220. Barua—*Old Brāhmī Inscriptions* p. 28.

221. EI. Vol. II. p. 199 No. 1.

15 B.C. or 15 A.D. Lüders, while discussing the era of the Mahārāja and Rājātirāja, considered the Girdharpur and Lucknow Museum inscriptions of the years 270 and 292 (or 299) respectively. He presumed that the donors were Parthians who had immigrated to Mathurā during the rule of the Kshatrapas, and, despite their joining the Jain fold they upheld the traditions of their native country.²²² It is an important phase of Jainism which suggests the assimilation of foreigners in their religious order.

Lokāyatas or Materialists:

The Lokāyatas were not unknown in that period. Patañjali refers to Bhāguri as a famous exponent of this school who provided specimens of the Lokāyata doctrine according to his views (*vārnīkā Bhāguri Lokāyatasya*), or way of life (*vārtikā Bhāguri lokāyatasya*).²²³ The name of the founder of this school—Chārvāka is not mentioned by the Bhāshyakāra, but his philosophy was well-known. According to a legend in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*,²²⁴ Brihaspati taught demons false knowledge of which the reward lasts only so long as the pleasure exists, in order to hasten their destruction. In the *Ukthādigaṇa* of the *Ashlādhyāyī*,²²⁵ a teacher and a pupil of this doctrine are called *Lokāyatika*. The system is referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*²²⁶ (*saṃvaraṇamātram hi trayī lokayātrāvida iti*), and much earlier in a Jātaka.²²⁷ A short account of this system is also given in the *Prabodhachandrodaya*. In the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, a very late work, the system is examined from the Vedantist standpoint, and Mādhava looks upon their philosophy as the lowest of all, but not to be ignored.

We have taken into account the religious condition of India during the time of Patañjali in all its aspects. One can hardly deny that with the advent of the Brahmanical Śunga ruler to power, there was a revival of Vedic sacrifices with

222. D. R. Bhandarkar Volume p. 288.

223. VII. 3.45 p. 325.24.

224. VII. 8.

225. IV. 2.60.

226. P.6.

227. VI.286.

greater enthusiasm, and the emperor himself performed two horse sacrifices. If the statement of Patañjali relating to the performance of sacrifice for Pushyamitra be taken at its face value, then the Bhāshyakāra probably officiated as a priest in any one of these two sacrifices. The other Vedic Yajñas were: Agnishtōma, Rājasūya, Vājapeya, and the Yūpa in which the sacrificial pillars of wood were set up. The householder had to perform the *Pañcha-mahāyajña*, and the *Śrāddhas* for the manes. The Vedic sacrifices, varying in duration and involving many accessories, were costly and complicated for ordinary people who were satisfied with devotion through propitiation. The Bhakti cult—confined to Vishṇu-Vāsudeva, and Śiva was not new. The former was more popular and there were festive gatherings, as well as dramatic performances showing the life and activities of the Lord in his previous incarnations. The epigraphic and archaeological pieces of evidence corroborate the popularity of this cult. The ascetic orders of the Parivrājakas, and the Maskarins, evidently Ājīvikas; the Daṇḍins and the Daishtī, and those of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, and the presence of the materialists—the Lokāyatikas, show an interesting aspect of religious life. People had not shaken off the worship of the demi-gods—the Yakshas and Nāgas with their female counterparts for fear and faith in them. An interesting study is the moral and ethical side of religious life, which manifested itself in the creation of dedications for Buddhism, though the names of the donors suggest a different faith. Buddhism and Jainism were not inactive, and the latter seems to be more liberal in its attitude towards outsiders; if the two inscriptions, quoted by Lüders, have any socio-religious value.

CHAPTER VIII

L I T E R A T U R E

The importance of the *Mahābhāṣhya* lies in its attempts to elucidate with comments the *sūtras* of Pāṇini taking into consideration the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana as well as in the information it provides on the literature known to Patañjali, his use of the earlier data, and the ornate metres in poetry with a few new ones. The *Bhāṣhyakāra* was himself well-versed in the Vedic, *Sūtra* and the *Smṛiti* literatures; and one can trace parallelism in his work. There are references to characters from the Epics, the *Purāṇas*, Poetics or *Kāvya* with systematic use of metres, ornamentation (*alaṃkāra*), drama and dramatic literature, and popular fiction, known as *ākhyāna*. The grammarian also presents philosophical data in his work, and other topics, not mentioned in the previous chapters, as for example, Medicine, Polity and Administration, Natural Science, including Biology. It is natural to presume from these references that there was some literature on these subjects with which Patañjali was familiar. As a literary piece, the *Mahābhāṣhya* presents a style of its own, which has little room for ornamentation, and a clear comprehension is attainable with a patient study of the work. In this chapter, we propose considering these aspects in detail.

Vedic Literature and the Mahābhāṣhya:

Besides a number of verses, given in parts¹ in the *Mahābhāṣhya* which are quoted from the Vedic literature, Patañjali actually mentions five verses in full which are taken from the *Rigveda* and are also adduced in later Vedic literature.

1. Cf. (i) *jarbhari turpharītu*—II.1.1 p. 363.25 = R.V.X. 106.6.
 (ii) *ojāyamānaṃ yo'kim jaghāna*—III. 1.11 p. 21.4 =
 (iii) *Marudbhīr agna āgahi*—VI.4.22 p.189.2 = R.V. I.19.1.
 R.V. II. 12.11.
 (iv) *nābhā prīthivyā nihito davidyutat*—V. 4.47 p. 437.11
 = A.V. VII. 621.

The most important is the one which Sāyaṇa, in conformity with the opinion of Yāska and others, applies to Agni, identified either with Yajña or with Āditya. "Four are his horns, three are the feet that bear him; his heads are two, his hands are seven in number. Round with a triple bond the steer roars loudly; the Mighty God hath entered into mortals."² Mahidhara's explanation of the verse differs from that of Sāyaṇa, and the four horns are priests, or nouns, verbs, prepositions and the indeclinables; the three feet are the Vedas, or the first, second and third persons, or the past, present, and future tenses; the two heads are two sacrifices, or the agent and the object; the seven hands are the metres or the cases of the noun; and the three bonds are the three daily sacrifices, or the singular, dual and plural numbers.³ A little modification can be suggested in the grammatical interpretation, as probably presumed by Patañjali, namely, the two heads represent two kinds of words—eternal (*nitya*) and resultant (*kārya*) which are mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.⁴ "Bound in three parts" i.e. bound in three places, namely, chest, throat and head. *Vṛishabha* (the Bull), (comes from the root *vriṣha*—to shower—to fulfil desire), *roraviti*—or makes sound. The Great God, entering the mortals is the *Śabda-Brahman*. This raises the question of the doctrine of *sphota* which finally identifies sound with *Brahman* itself. This is not the solitary verse from the *Rigveda* which has been quoted to stress the need for the study of grammar, but there is another interesting one⁵ which is taken from the *Rigveda*. It is a praise to the glorious god Varuṇa, across whose palate the seven rivers keep pouring as a fair-flowing (streams) into an abyss. According to

2. *chatvāri śrīṅgā trayo asya pādā dve śīrṣe saptahastāso asya tridhā baddho vṛishabho roraviti maho devo martyām aviveṣeti*
Mah. I. 1.1 p. 3.15 = R.V. IV. 58.
Vāj. Sam. 17.91; Mait. Sam. I. 6.29, 87.17.
3. Ref. Wilson : *Rigveda Samhitā* Vol. III p. 227 n.l.; also Griffith's trans. Vol. I. p. 462.
4. I. 1.1 p. 6.27; IV. 4.1 p. 329.4.
5. *suḍevo asi Varuṇa yasya te sapta sindhavaḥ anuksharanti kākudam surmyam sushirām iva.*
Mah. I. 1.1 p. 4.27-28; R.V. VIII. 69.12.

Śāyaṇa's⁶ metaphysical explanation of the last words—*Sūrmīyam sushirām iva*—they are quoted as applied by the grammarians to enforce the need for studying grammar, the seven rivers being taken to mean the seven declensional affixes. These two verses are quoted by Patañjali in his 'Introduction' with a view to impressing on the minds of his readers that the study of grammar was absolutely necessary. He has all along stressed this fact; and it is considered as efficacious as the performance of a sacrifice. The stamp of Vedic sanctity was supposed to enhance the value of the subject matter of study, which could enable a person to have union with the Great God; and shine in truth (*śobhanām ūrmīm sushirām agnir antaḥ*).⁷

Explaining the division of words—viz., the division of speech into four, three of which are not manifested, he has quoted another verse⁸ from the *Rigveda*. 'Speech hath been measured out in four divisions, the Brāhmaṇas who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment cause no motion; of speech, men speak only the fourth division. According to Śāyaṇa, the Brāhmaṇas here are those acquainted with *Śabda-brahman*. The explanation of this mystical piece is different; and according to the grammatical interpretation of *chatvāri vākparimitā padāni*—the four parts of speech are noun, verb, prepositions and participles.⁹

The fourth form of speech (*chatvāri*) is explained, according to some one else (*uta thaḥ*) as—"one (*man*) indeed seeing speech has not seen her; another (*man*) hearing her has not heard her; but to another she delivers her person as a loving wife well-attired presents herself to her husband."¹⁰

6. Ref. Wilson—op. cit. Vol. V. p. 126, n.2.

7. *Mah.* p. 5.2.

8. *Chatvāri vākparimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmaṇā ye manishināḥ guhā trīni nihitā neṅgayanti turīyam vācho manushyā vadanti.* *Mah.* I. 1.1 p. 3.24-25; R.V. I. 164, 45; A.V. IX. 10.27.

9. Wilson: op. cit. Vol. II. p. 142; Muir: Sanskrit texts Vol. II, p. 155.

10. *uta tyah paśyan na dadarśa vācham uta tvaḥ śrīṇvan na śrīṇoty enām uto ty asmai tanvaṁ vi sasre jāyeva patya uśati suvāsah.* *Mah.* I. 1.1 p. 4. 2-3; R.V. X. 71-4.

Patañjali, quoting this verse from the *Rigveda*, further elucidates it in his comment. As a well-dressed wife desiring her husband's company, presents gently her person (to him), so speech reveals itself to one learned in speech (a grammarian). This verse is equally important from the metaphorical point of view which one also notices in another verse,¹¹ quoted by the Bhāshyakāra from the *Rigveda*. "When the wise create speech through wisdom winnowing (sieving) it as (men winnow) barley with a sieve, then friends know friendship; good fortune is placed upon their word." The wise men, as explained by Patañjali, in their purified speech, sieve out corrupt words. From these verses, quoted in full, one draws the conclusion that Patañjali was not only well-grounded in the Vedas, but he fully utilized his Vedic knowledge in the service of grammar, and tried to explain the mysterious meaning of some of the verses, quoted by him, in terms of grammatical values.

The influence of the later Vedic literature does not appear to be much on the *Mahābhāshya*. Patañjali no doubt quotes the Vedic recensions which is nothing unusual for a scholar like him. He also refers to the *Yājñavalkya* and *Saulabha Brāhmaṇas* (*Yājñavalkyāni Brāhmaṇāni—Saulabhāni*).¹² They were not early texts because of the inapplicability of the *sūtra*—*Chando brāhmaṇāni cha tadvishayāni* (IV. 2.66) which suggests that the affixes denoting the announcer, when added to the Chandas and the Brāhmaṇas express that relation only in the case of the two Brāhmaṇas stated above (*Yājñavalkyādibhyah pratishedho vaktavyah*). The reference to different works in the *Sūtra* literature, like the *Vārttika-Sūtra*, *Samgraha-Sūtra* and *Kalpa-Sūtra*¹³ in the *Mahābhāshya* only implies his familiarity with these works as with many *Kalpas*,¹⁴—*Parāśara*,

11. *saktum iva litāunā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācham akrata atrā sakhāyah sakhyaṇi jānate bhadrāishān lakṣmīr nihitādhi vāchi.*

Mah. I. 1.1 p. 4. 10-11; *R.V.* X. 71-2.

12. IV. 2.66 p. 285.22.

13. IV. 2.60 p. 284.4.

14. IV. 2.66 p. 286. 5-7.

Kaśyapa, Paiṅgi, Kuśika and *Mahāvārttika*, which have been mentioned earlier.

Patañjali and Smṛiti Literature:

There are, however, a few passages in the *Mahābhāṣya* which can also be traced in the *Dharma sūtras* and the *Smṛitis*. According to P. C. Chakravartty,¹⁵ "Patañjali has given unmistakable proof of his respectable knowledge of the Dharma sāstras current in his time and numerous references to the Smṛiti texts indicate that he made a careful study of Dharma sūtras, such as those of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Gotama. He sometimes quotes verbatim passages from the texts, and sometimes gives the substance." On the other hand, A. Ghosh has pointed out¹⁶ that there is hardly any passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* from which we can definitely say that Patañjali borrowed from any of our present texts. His reference to the *Vishṇu Smṛiti* is very meagre and casual, and we can be certain that he shows no acquaintance with that text. Of the rest, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasishṭha and Manu, nothing can be said except with the greatest difference. We may, however, consider the subject afresh taking into consideration the probable parallel references. It is just possible that there might have been a common source. The passages supposed to have been taken from these texts relate to the definitions of Āryāvarta,¹⁷ *Śishṭas*¹⁸ whose custom and behaviour is to be followed

15. IHQ. Vol. II. pp. 276 ff.

16. *ibid.*, Vol. XI. pp. 77 ff.

17. (a) *kaḥ punar Āryāvartaḥ—Prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam uttaraṇa Pāriyātram. Mah. VI. 3.109 p. 174.7-8.*

(b) *Prāg ādarśanāt pratyak kālakavnād dakṣiṇena himavantam udak pāriyātram etad Āryāvarta tasmin cha āchārasa pramānam. Baud. I. 2.10.*

(c) (i) *Āryāvartaḥ Prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād udak-pāriyātrād dakṣiṇena himavataḥ uttaraṇa cha vindhyasya. Vas. I. 8-9.*

(ii) *Gaṅgāyāmunayor antare 'py eke—yāvad vā kṛishṇamṛigo vicharati tāvad brahmavarchasam ity anye. Vas. I. 12-13.*

as a model, certain rules of etiquette and social conduct, like voiding at a distance from one's house,¹⁹ abstinence from drink for a Brāhmaṇī,²⁰ greeting a lady,²¹ and a youth taking airs before an old man,²² which are noticed in the Smṛiti texts, though with slight variations.

Regarding the definition of Āryāvarta, with particular reference to its boundaries, there seems unanimity of expression between Baudhāyana and Patañjali, except that Baudhāyana substitutes the word Vinasāna for Ādarśa. According to Vasishṭha, Āryāvarta was the region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, where the black antelope roamed about in 'spiritual pre-eminence.' Patañjali has not mentioned this fact, which, according to the commentary of Viśvarūpa on *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* (1-2) was 'sacrifice assuming that form while wandering over the earth, followed by Dharma in its wanderings.' The absence of this tradition in the *Mahābhāshya*, in connection with the limits of Āryāvarta, is an important fact which cannot be overlooked, as it is noted by the other two—Baudhāyana and Vasishṭha.

18. (a) (i) *ke punah śishṭāḥ—valyākaraṇaḥ—kuta etat—sāstrapūrvikā hi śishṭir vaiyākaraṇās cha sāstraajñāḥ yadi tarhi sāstrapūrvikā śishṭiḥ śishṭipūrvakam cha sāstram tad itaretarāśrayam bhavati—itaretarāśrayāṇi cha na prakal-pante evaṁ tarhi nivāsata āchārataś cha sa cha āchāra āryāvarta eva. Māh. VI. 3.109 p. 174.*
- (ii) *etasmin āryanivāse ye Brāhmaṇāḥ kumbhīdhānya alolupā agrihyamāṇakāraṇaḥ kimchid antareṇa kasyāśchid vidyā-yāḥ pāragās tatra bhavantaḥ śishṭāḥ. Ibid. 8-11.*
- (b) *śishṭa khalu vigatamatsarāḥ nirahankārāḥ kumbhīdhānyā alolupā dambhadarpalobhamohakrodha vivarjitāḥ. Baudh. 1.5. pārampariyagato yeshām vedāḥ saparibrimhaṇaḥ te śishṭā brāhmaṇā jñeyāḥ śrutipratyaksha—hetavah. Vas. VI. 43.*
19. *dūrād avasathān mūtram dūrāt pādāvasechanam dūrāch cha bhāvyaṁ dasyubhyo dūrāch cha kupitād guroḥ. Mah. II. 3.35. p. 457. 22.23.*
20. *yā Brāhmāṇī surāpī bhavati nainām devāḥ patilokam nayanti. Mah. III. 2.8 p. 99.7.*
21. *kāmam tesku tu viproshya strīshv ivā ayam ahaṁ vadet. Mah. I. 1.1 p. 3.8.*
22. *ūrādhvam prāṇā hy utkrāmanti yūnaḥ sthavira āyati pratyutthān-ābhivādābhyām punas tāḥ pratipadyata iti. Mah. VI. 1.84. p. 58.8-9.*

A *Śiṣṭha*, according to Baudhāyana, was expected to be free from envy and pride, keeping only as much as was measured by a *kumbhī*, immune from greed and hypocrisy, annoyance, covetousness, delusion and anger. He studied the Vedas according to the prescribed method together with the appendages, that is, Itihāsa and Purāṇa, and knew how to draw inferences. The definition of the *Śiṣṭas* in the *Mahābhāṣya* corresponds exactly to that of *Baudhāyana*, while that of *Vasishṭha* is general, since it defines the *Śiṣṭas* as those whose mind was free from desires. There appears to be close affinity in the conception, despite slight variations in words.

A third parallelism refers to voiding at a distance from one's house, washing one's feet at a distance and *nīti*, as for example, the advice to remain at a distance from robbers, as well as from an angry teacher. In this connection it may be interesting to quote another passage tabooing voiding while standing, and taking food while walking (*abrāhmaṇo 'yam liṣṭhaṇ mūtrayati abrāhmaṇo 'yam yo gachchhan bhakshayati*).²³ As regards the first point, Manu,²⁴ Āpastamba,²⁵ Gautama,²⁶ and Yājñavalkya²⁷ have all condemned voiding near one's house, but urinating, while standing, is disapproved in the *Atharvaeda*²⁸ as well. On the second point, no Smṛiti parallelism can be traced.

The next one relates to the drinking of wine by a Brāhmaṇi who, for her act, is not entitled to the company of her lord in the next world. *Vasishṭha*²⁹ has also mentioned it, but he is more strict and deprives her of her accumulated *pūnyas* or spiritual gains. According to the *Āśvalāyana Grihya sūtra*,³⁰ *surā*, and the scum of boiled rice in addition (to the *piṇḍas*)

23. II. 2.6 p. 411.22.

24. *dūrād āvasathān mūtram dūrāt pādāvasēchanam* IV. 151.

25. *ārāch cha āvasathān mūtrapurīshe kuryād dakṣiṇām diśam āakṣiṇāparām vā. Āp. I. 11.31.2.*

26. *narāch cha āvasthāt—I. 9.39.*

27. *dūrād ucchishṭa viṇmūtrapādāmbhasi samutsrijet. I. 154.*

28. VII. 107.1.

29. *Yā brāhmaṇī cha surāpī na tām devāḥ patilokaṁ nayanti ihaiva sā charati kṣiṇapūṇyāpsu lug bhavti śūktikā va—XXI. 11.*

30. II. 5.5.

are offered to the wives (of the ancestors). Prof. Kane suggests³¹ that women drank, perhaps secretly, liquor even when their husbands, owing to the force of public opinion, had given up the practice. All the authorities have denied all kinds of intoxicants to Brāhmaṇas in all stages of life.³²

One passage has an exact corresponding reference in the *Manu Smṛiti*.³³ 'For the vital airs of a young man mount upwards to leave his body when an elder approaches; but by rising to meet him and saluting he recovers them.' Manu has stressed on constantly paying reverence to the aged.

These are the parallel passages, noticed in the *Mahābhāshya*, as well as in the *Smritis*. There are certain other matters mentioned by Bhāshyakāra, and the opinion expressed on them is identical with the injunctions or sanctions of the *Smritis* on those items; as for instance, the reference to the killing of a Brāhmaṇa, even though not knowing it, and drinking wine with the consequent fall from one's caste (*yo hy ajānan vai brāhmaṇam hanyāt surām vā pibet so 'pi manye palitah syāt*).³⁴ The murder of a Brāhmaṇa is mentioned as a *mahāpātaka*—a great sin by Vasishṭha³⁵ and Viṣṇu.³⁶ These minor items include injunction against eating forbidden food, or the sale of beef, and customary regulations, salutation and other matters of every day life which, in substance, though not in the same words, can be traced in *Smritis*.

The views expressed by the two scholars are of a divergent nature, and it may be going too far to enter into minute details. One can hardly deny that Patañjali knew at least some of the older Dharma sūtras, otherwise he could not have quoted certain matters of customary or day to day interest which have nothing to do with grammar. On some points, there may have been a common source for both the Bhāshyakāra and the

31. *Hist. of Dharmaśāstras*, Vol. II, Pt. II p. 794.

32. *Gaut.* II. 25; *Ap. Dham.* 1.5 17.21; *Manu.* XI. 94. A Brāhmaṇi who transgresses the law, is denied access to the region of her husband, and is doomed to be born a slut, or a cow, or a vulture. Cf. Mitra: JASB—1873 p. 9.

33. *Mah.* VI. 1.84 p. 58.8-9. *Manu.* II. 120.

34. I. 1.1 p. 2.26.

35. I. 20

36. XXXV. 1.

Smṛitikāras. While the influence of the Dharma śāstras on the *Mahābhāshya*—amounting to the borrowing of material in substance and language, might be practically negligible, one can hardly deny that Patañjali was in the know of the then literature dealing with the laws of Dharma. As regards the period of the Dharma śāstras according to M. M. Kane,³⁷ those of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 B.C.; and in the second century B.C., they had attained a position of supreme authority regulating the conduct of men.

The Mahābhāshya and the Epics and the Purāṇas :

Patañjali distinguishes the legends (*Itihāsa*) and Purāṇas clearly. (*vākovākyam itihāsaḥ purāṇam*).³⁸ Itihāsa included the epics, and Patañjali was familiar with the oldest specimens. Pāṇini seems to have known the story of the *Mahābhārata* in its earlier recension, as he has mentioned certain important characters of the story of Vāsudeva and Arjuna.³⁹ Patañjali also refers to the Pāṇḍavas⁴⁰ and the Kauravas,⁴¹ including Gāndhārī and Kuntī⁴² and Vrishṇī,⁴³ the Brāhmaṇa seṇāpati Droṇa and his son Aśvatthāman.⁴⁴ He mentions the stories of Yāvakṛitika⁴⁵ and Yāyātika⁴⁶ which are fully narrated in the *Mahābhārata*.⁴⁷ The reference to Viśvāmitra and his attainment of Rishihood (*Viśvāmitras tapas tepe nānrishiḥ syām iti*),⁴⁸ is also taken from the *Mahābhārata*. The popular legend of Kaśyapa Prajāpati with his two wives—*Ditī* and *Aditī*, who gave birth to demons and gods respectively, noticed in the

37. Op. cit. Vol. I. p.9.

38. I. 1.1 p. 9.22.

39. IV. 3.98.

40. IV. 1. 114 p. 257; VIII. 1.15 p. 371.1.

41. IV. 2. 130 p. 300. 1; III. 3.130 p. 157.10.

42. IV. 1. 14 p. 206.4.

43. IV. 2. 130 p. 300.7.

44. IV. 1. 85 p. 237.2.

45. III. 2.122 p. 122.21.

46. IV. 2.60 p. 284.8.

47. *Vana*, chap. 135, 8; *Udyo*. chap. 120-2.

48. IV. 1.104 p. 254.17.

Mahābhāshya,⁴⁹ can be traced in the *Mahābhārata*.⁵⁰ The story of Śuka, son of Vyāsa who had imbibed all knowledge, while still in the womb of his mother, is also mentioned by Patañjali (*vaiyāsaki śukaḥ*).⁵¹ There are also allusions to Nārada and Parvata,⁵² the two celestial sages, and the anecdote of King Āmbarīsha (*Āmbarishaputraka*).⁵³ Other illustrations, noticed by the Bhāshyakāra and probably taken from the *Mahābhārata*, are those of Ahalyā⁵⁴ and Indra, Divodāsa,⁵⁵ and Satyabhāmā,⁵⁶ the consort of Krishṇa. Patañjali also mentions Kurus fighting righteously (*dharmena sma kuravo yudhyanṭe*).⁵⁷ The incidents and characters from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, quoted in the *Mahābhāshya* are few. Special reference may be made of Rāvaṇi (son of Rāvaṇa),⁵⁸ Indrajit, the army of the monkeys (*vānara sāinya*)⁵⁹ the liberation of Ahalyā, referred to earlier, and the cave Kishkindhyā⁶⁰ (mentioned in the definition of Āryāvarta), and names of certain rishis like Vasishṭha, Jābālī,⁶¹ Viśvāmitra and Auddālaki.⁶²

The relation of the *Mahābhāshya* to the Purāṇas may be traced in parallel references, both in expression and in substance. Since the Purāṇas are characterized by such accounts as relate to cosmogony, different yugas, dynasties of Kings, and other extraneous matters like fables and superstitions, it may be interesting to find out data relating to such topics in the *Mahābhāshya*. The Bhāshyakāra does cite certain information of a metrological and astronomical nature, as for example, his reference to the colours in the sky denoting atmos-

49. I. 1.72 p. 185.10.

50. I. 64.2480.

51. IV. 1.97 p. 253.5; *Mah.* XIII. 84-85.

52. VIII. 1.15 p. 371.1.

53. IV. 2.52 p. 282.16.

54. II. 2.62 p. 466.15.

55. VI. 2.91 p. 132.9.

56. I. 1.45 p. 111.24.

57. III. 2.120 p. 122.21.

58. I. 1.57 p. 144.20.

59. I. 3.25 p. 281.9.

60. II. 4.10 p. 475.4.

61. II. 4.58 p. 489.6.

62. II. 4.66 p. 493.16.

pheric results—brownish for wind, red for lightning, yellow prognosticating a good harvest, and white an indication for famine,⁶³ and an allusion to a mirage (*mrigatrishṇaval*) or the cities of the gandharvas (*gandharvanagarāṇi*).⁶⁴ It is difficult to see in these references any parallelism. The earliest of the Purāṇas is supposed to be the *Vāyu* which is expressly named in *Mahābhārata* and its supplement, the *Harivaṃśa*. A study of the cultural data from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* has recently been made,⁶⁵ and the material is classified under archaic survivals, ancient materials, and accretions. In the second class the writer has placed the material aligning with the early Dharma Śāstras, the early Buddhist and Jain canonical literature, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, *Manu Smṛiti* and the earlier portion of the *Mahābhārata*. Comparing the information of a social nature, in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, meat eating is regarded as a characteristic of the Pāisāchas,⁶⁶ but in the *Mahābhāshya*, only the flesh of five five-nailed animals is to be taken; other meat could not be taken. Drinking is also condemned as a sin, as a *surāpī* is looked down upon as a great sinner.⁶⁷ It is stated that in the Kali age (even) women will be fond of wine and similar vices.⁶⁸ Traces of such common links can be noticed because Hindu life has not changed so much from its original phase; but exact parallel wordings are not to be found. It is not improbable that Patañjali, while referring to compound, *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*, had some such work in mind, which might probably have been the *Vāyu Purāṇa*; but one is not certain on this point. Winternitz has pointed out⁶⁹ that there certainly existed an ancient Purāṇa under his name (*Vāyu*). We may be right in inferring its existence and Patañjali's knowledge of this Purāṇa, but such parallel references, as we find in the case of Vedic and Smṛiti passages, are wanting here.

63. *vātāya kapilā vidyud ātapāya atilohinī pita bhavati sasyāya durbhikshāya sitā bhavet*—II.2.13 p. 449.25-26.

64. IV. 1-3. p. 196.21.

65. Patil : *Some aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa* p. 47.

66. p. 69; 63.2517.

67. 82.367.

68. 58.43.

69. *His. Ind. Lit.* Vol. I. p. 534,

Patañjali and the Kāvya Literature :

Patañjali quotes a number of passages written in the Kāvya-style and actually refers to a Kāvya by Vararuchi (*Vārarucham kāvyam*),⁷⁰ who is identified by some with the Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana.⁷¹ Fragments of verses of ornate form, which may have been either his own composition, or taken from some earlier source are also noticed in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The Bhāṣhyakāra alludes to the poetic license in the expression — *chhandovat kavayaḥ kurvanti*,⁷² and actually mentions a *chhandahśāstra*.⁷³ In the light of these references, we may consider the extent to which Patañjali utilized Kāvya poetry in his comments. This study might reveal the poetic talents of the Bhāṣhyakāra who, possibly, composed some verses himself, and secondly, it would suggest the existence of Kāvya poetry and literature in his time. Patañjali could not possibly have set his hand to the poetic verses in his commentary without an adequate knowledge of the rules of metrical composition. If he probably borrowed from some other source, then the existence of the Kāvya literature earlier than Patañjali cannot be questioned. We may suggest that the Bhāṣhyakāra was conscious of the canons and characteristics of the Kāvya poetry in both its themes and its ornamentation. Despite the fact that there is no room for such poetry in a work on grammar, one notices flashes in the form of fragmentary verses in the *Mahābhāṣya*, likely to stimulate the reader in the difficult task of following the commentary.

70. IV. 3.101 p. 315.18.

71. Ref. T. Gaṇapati Sāstri — *Vāraucha Saṁgraha* — preface p. 1. This manuscript, edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 33), only about two centuries old, has a running commentary by Dīpaprabhā who has quoted Bhartṛhari, Kaiyaṭa, Jinendra and Haradatta, but no author posterior to him. Vararuchi has been extolled by the commentator to a position of great eminence, equal to that of the Sūtrakāra in respect of freedom of language, and would appear to identify him with Vararuchi, otherwise known as Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttikas. Gaṇapati Sāstri, however, places him in the time of Vikramāditya.

72. I. 4.3 p. 313.5.

73. I. 2.32 p. 208.19.

From Patañjali's reference it is clear that from its very dawn, love is established as one of the dominant themes of Kāvya poetry. The widely diffused Kāvya manner and its prevailing love interest permeates even the domain of grammar; and we notice references like, *varatanu sampravadanti kukkuṭāḥ*⁷⁴ — "Oh fair-limbed one, the cocks unite to proclaim." The illustration is given by Patañjali for the inapplicability of the sūtra — *vyaktavācham samuchchhāraṇe*, in the case of birds or lower animals who are incapable of making articulate speech, even though they make a chorus of noise. The other reference of a rather erotic nature is *priyām mayūrah pratinarnritīti yad-yat tvam naravarānar nritishi hrishṭaḥ*⁷⁵ — 'the peacock dances towards his beloved'; and another — *ā-vanāntād odakāntāt priyam pāntham anuvrajaed iti*⁷⁶ 'Let her follow the wanderer she loveth to the ends of the woods to the ends of water.' There is a parallel reference from the *Rigveda*, quoted earlier, which can also be mentioned here. It compares speech to a loving wife, well-attired presenting herself to her husband (*jāyeva patya uṣatī suvāsāḥ*).⁷⁷ The introduction of this love element may have been due to Patañjali's desire to interest his reader. Love poetry is very common in Sanskrit literature.

The Bhāshyakāra uses epic or panegyric poetry, pathos, gnomicism, and *nīti* relating to political wisdom in maxims. The first aspect is seen in addresses like *prathate tvayā patimatī prithivī*⁷⁸ — 'the earth with three as a Lord is celebrated as wide', and in *jaghāna Kaṁsam kila Vāsudevaḥ*⁷⁹ — 'Vāsudeva slew Kaṁsa'; and in other reference — *asidvitiyo 'māsāra Pāṇḍavam*⁸⁰ 'with sword as mate he attacked Pandu's son'. These references are supposed to refer to anecdotes of the past from which Patañjali took only fragmentary verses to illustrate his commentary. These are important for their epic character, and the reference to works from which they are taken.

74. I. 3.48 p. 283.3.

75. VII. 3.87 p. 338.23.

76. I. 4.56 p. 340.14.

77. I. 1.1 p. 44.2-3; RV. X. 7.14.

78. IV. 1.32 p. 213.17.

79. III. 1.111 p. 119.7.

80. II. 2.24 p. 426.8.

Pathos or deep sentiment is expressed in verses, like

*yasmin daśa sahasrāṇi putre jāte gavām dadau
brāhmaṇebhyaḥ priyākhyebhyaḥ so 'yam uñchhena jīvati*⁸¹

'One on whose birth ten thousand kine were given to the Brahmanas who announced the good tidings, now lives on gleaning.' This verse seems to refer to some anecdote. Gnostic poetry is noticed in verses like,

*tapah śrutam cha yoniś chety etad brāhmaṇakāraṇam*⁸²
tapah śrutābhyām yo hino jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ

'Asceticism, learning, birth, these make the Brāhmaṇa; he who lacks asceticism and learning is a Brāhmaṇa by birth alone.' The same idea is also expressed in another verse :

*trīṇi yasya avadātāni vidyā yoniś cha karma cha
etach chhivam vijānīhi brāhmaṇāgrasya lakṣaṇam iti*⁸³

Necessity knows no law — and nothing seems right to a hungry man — (*bubhukshitam na pratibhāti kimchit*).⁸⁴ In another passage he condemns an adulterer who commits sin with his teacher's wife (*dhvaṁsate guru alpagaḥ*).⁸⁵ An interesting maxim regarding the education of children relates to the harshness of the teacher which is for the good of the pupil. —

*sāmritaiḥ pāṇibhir ghnanti guravo na vishokshitaiḥ*⁸⁶
lāḍanāśrayiṇo doṣhās tāḍanāśrayiṇo guṇāḥ

'Fraught with life, not with poison, the blows that teachers give; vice grows by indulgence, virtue prospers by reproof'. In one passage, possibly taken from the *Mahābhārata*, emphasis is laid on the factor playing an important part in life — destruction is inevitable for all in course of time (*kālaḥ pachati bhūtāni*

81. I. 4.3 p. 313.12-13.

82. V. 1.115 p. 363.14-15.

83. IV. 1.48 p. 220.8-9.

84. II. 3.2 p. 444.11.

85. III. 2.48 p. 1.3.15; cf. *Manu*. XI. 103.4.

86. VIII. 1.8 p. 367.1. 12-13.

kālah samharati prajāh).⁸⁷ The character of a drunkard; never wearied of his drink, is compared to the inevitability of death in a verse :

*ahar ahar nayamāno gām aśvam puruṣam paśum*⁸⁸
vaivasvato na tripyati surayā iva durmadī

‘Though day by day he takes his toll in cattle, horses, men, and beasts, Vivasvan’s son is never tired of, as a drunkard is never wearied of his wine’. There is another maxim which suggests political wisdom — *ksheme subhikshe kritasamchayāni purāṇi rājñām vinayanti kopam*,⁸⁹ ‘citadels well-stored in peace and abundance calm the wrath of kings’.

Kielhorn has mentioned⁹⁰ in all 260 verses, including those, written in different metres — the ordinary Āryā, about 40 verses; portions of an Āryā two; Gīti — one verse and a half; the ordinary Śloka — about 165 verses, three quarters of a verse, half-verses; and quarter verses Vaktra with half a verse; Vidyunmātā with a quarter verse; Samānī, Indravajrā, Upajāti, Dodhaka, Śālinī, Vanśasthā, Toṭaka, Jagatī and “irregular Trishṭubh or Jagatī verses. Keith also referred⁹¹ to specimens of such ornate metres as the Mālatī, the Praharshinī, the Pramitāksharā, and the Vasantatilaka, besides the normal Śloka and Trishṭubh. He suggested that the new metres lead us into a different sphere from the Vedic metres, and striking light on this development is afforded by the metre of the Kārikās, mostly, if not all, written probably by the predecessors of Patañjali, which deal with disputed points of grammar. ‘The richness and elaboration of metre, in striking contrast to the comparative freedom of Vedic and Epic literature, must certainly have arisen from poetical use; it can not have been invented for grammatical memorial verses, for which a simple metre might better suffice.’ In the light of the commentator’s views Kielhorn has suggested that some of the verses in the *Mahābhāshya* are by Kātyāyana, and others

87. III. 3.167 p. 167.12.

88. II. 2.29 p. 431.3-4.

89. V. 4.68 p. 438.9.

90. I.A., Vol. XIV p. 326f; Vol. XV. p. 229.

91. *Hist. Sans. Lit.* p. 47.

by another author of Vārttikas; but these commentators also assign some verses to the Bhāshyakāra.⁹²

It appears from Kielhorn's remarks, that a good many of the verses in question, either in fragments or in full, have been taken by Patañjali from some earlier works between the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, so that the Bhāshyakāra quietly borrowed them without acknowledging the source. He borrowed from older works which were in verse, and we should regard these books as the source of those verses to which he appended an occasional remark only,⁹³ or the meaning of which he merely indicated in a general way.⁹⁴ We should, however, like to take a broad view proposing that the Kāvya literature was known in the time of Patañjali, which should not be disputed in view of the reference to the Vararuchi Kāvya in the *Mahābhāshya*. As regards, Kielhorn's contention, it would be idle to deny the authorship of the Śloka Vārttikas to Patañjali, and to condemn him as a plagiarist would exhibit a narrow view. His wide reading and balanced outlook, anxious to make his commentary understandable to the śiṣṭas, not only with illustrations, but even with a change from prose to poetic verses, was a good method adopted by the Bhāshyakāra. Some half or quarter verses and maxims may have been taken from earlier works, as he borrowed from

92. 'When the term Śloka Vārttikakāra is opposed to the term Vārttikakāra (or Vākyakāra), as has been done by Kaiyaṭa on Vol. III, p. 189 or by Bhartṛhari on Vol. I. p. 36,' writes Kielhorn, 'both of course denote different persons; and in such a case it was hardly necessary for Nāgajibhaṭṭa to tell us that the Vārttikakāra (or Vākyakāra) is Kātyāyana, and the Śloka Vārttikakāra another'; he suggests that the verses which have been explained in the *Mahābhāshya* do not belong to Kātyāyana, but have been borrowed or quoted by Patañjali from other works. There is every reason to believe that these works were composed after the Vārttikas. Though they were written in verse, their aim was the same, which Patañjali had in view when writing his own work, to elucidate, correct and improve on the Vārttikas, and to discuss matters connected with individual rules of Pāṇini, or with the system of Pāṇini's grammar, that had not been touched upon by Kātyāyana. (Ref. I.A. Vol. XV. p. 229).

93. I. 1.38 p. 96.1-5; III. 2.188 p. 137.4-7.

94. I. 1.57 p. 147.12-13.

the Vedic literature, but the Śloka Vārttikas appear to be his own composition, for which he was well equipped by reason of his literary talents.⁹⁵ Kielhorn has mentioned 165 ordinary Ślokas, which were very probably written by the Bhāshyakāra. As regards the use of new metres, distinct from the Vedic ones, they may have been in use earlier than the time of Patañjali in the Kāvya, unknown to us, or some may have been his own creations.

Patañjali and Popular Literature

The Bhāshyakāra was aware of the popular literature dealing with tales taken from the Epics, or of an independent nature, which were current in that period. He refers to tales about Yavakṛita, Priyaṅgu and Yayāti,⁹⁶ and has furnished names of three *Ākhyāyikās*, namely Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhīmārathī.⁹⁷ The two general terms used are — *Ākhyāna* and *Ākhyāyikā* — the former is traced in the Vedic literature⁹⁸ as well, and, though the latter occurs only once in the late *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, its significance is doubtful. According to Keith, the story is naturally related in prose, but the moral is fixed in the memory by being put in verse form. Later on stanzas were inserted in the narrative itself which are not maxims, but, like the label, refer definitely to the tale itself, and, thus, we achieve the use of *Ākhyāna* or narrative verses. The *Ākhyāyikā*, apart from merely formal requirements, was a serious composition generally dealing with facts of experience and having an autobiographical, traditional or semi-historical interest; and it was distinct from a *kathā* which

95. Peterson, in a paper on '*Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian*', suggested on the basis of his reading of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvali*, who ascribes certain verses to Pāṇini, that "Pāṇini is not the only name which is connected by Indian tradition with the two muses of Grammar and Poetry. What is true of Pāṇini is true of his two commentators, Kātyāyana or Vararuchi, and Patañjali." (JRAS. 1911. p. 321).

96. IV. 2.60 p. 284.8.

97. IV. 3.87 p. 313.22.

98. *Vedic Index* Vol. 1, p. 52.

was essentially a fictitious narrative.⁹⁹ The stories of Vāsava-dattā and Sumanottarā seem to be very popular in that period. The heroine of the first story was the wife of King Udayana of Vatsa to whom she offered herself against the wishes of her father Pradyota. The name is also given to the heroine of Subandhu's novel who is represented to have been betrothed by her father to Pushpaketu, but was carried away by Kandar-paketu. The second one is a very late story. The *Ākhyānas* of Yavakrīta and Yayāti are related in the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁰⁰

There are a few interesting stories and anecdotes which are also noticed in the *Mahābhāshya*. The one under the title *Vriiddhakumārī*¹⁰¹ is narrated by Patañjali. A virgin in her advanced age was told by Indra to ask for a boon. She entreated him to grant her such a boon so that her sons might eat rice with milk and butter in a brass-made utensil. By a single boon she managed to secure all she desired — a husband, sons, cows and rice. This applied to a sentence having a variety of meaning.

The bird fables are also quoted by the *Bhāshyakāra* — as for example, *Kākatāliyam*¹⁰² — which expression stands for the manner of the crow and the palm fruit — meaning sudden death as in the fable of the fruit of the palm falling unexpectedly at the moment of the alighting of a crow and killing it (*kāka gamtanam iva tālapatanam iva*), and *ajakripāñiyam*¹⁰³ — the maxim of the she-goat and the sword. It is founded on the story of a goat being suddenly killed by accidental contact with a sword. Both these stories are used to illustrate a surprising event happening altogether by chance. Another story, quoted by Patañjali, corresponds to a Buddhist *Jātaka* tale. Under 1.3.25 (*upān mantrakarane*) — Patañjali gives as an instance of the first *vārttika ādityam upatishṭhate* — 'he adores the sun'; and he quotes the instance of a monkey who apes the adoration of the sun in a crowd (or army) of

99. Das Gupta and Dey : *His. Sans. Lit.* p. 203; Cf. De. BSCS. III. 1925 pp. 507-17.

100. III. 135. 10701-35; I. 75. 3126-28.

101. IV. 2.3 p. 388.10f.

102. V. 3.106 p. 429-8-9.

103. II. 1.3 p. 377.14.

monkeys (*paśya vānarasainye 'smin yad arkam upatish-
ṭhate*).¹⁰⁴ The illustration may be compared to the *Ādichchu-
paṭṭhānājātaka*).¹⁰⁵ In this connection it is equally interest-
ing to notice certain maxims of a popular nature, and it is
probable that they were taken from the literature dealing with
the subject, though some may have been used in conversation.
Some of them are traced in later Sanskrit works. The maxims
of the well-digger — *kūpakhāna-kanyāyah*;¹⁰⁶ something on
which a crow is perched — *kākādhikaraṇanyāyah*;¹⁰⁷ the rice
in the cooking pot — *sthālipulākanyāyah*,¹⁰⁸ meaning that the
condition of the whole class is inferred from that of a pot; a
mongoose standing on hot ground — *avataptenakulasthi-
tam*,¹⁰⁹ used in the sense of a fickle person, also known as
tīrthakāka,¹¹⁰ or the crow at a centre of pilgrimage, are notable.
Some of these may have originated from the *Mahābhāshya*
itself,¹¹¹ as for example, men do not refrain from setting the
cooking pots on fire because there are beggars (who may ask
for the contents) nor do they abstain from sowing barley
because there are wild animals (*na hi bhikshukāḥ santi iti
sthālyo nādhiśriyante na cha mrigāḥ santi iti yavā no-
pyanti*).¹¹²

A few more may be quoted here, as for instance — an
iguana creeping along does not on that account become a
snake. (*na hi godhā sarpaṇtī sarpaṇād ahir bhavati*),¹¹³ or
curd and cucumber are fever personified (*dadhitrapusam
pratyaksho jvaraḥ*)¹¹⁴ and water in a bed of reeds is a disease
of the feet (*naḍvalodakam pādarogaḥ*).¹¹⁵

104. I. 3.25 p. 281.1.

105. J. II. 72.3.

106. I. 1.1 p. 11.7.

107. I. 1.26 pp. 84-85.

108. I. 4.23 p. 325.23.

109. II. 1.47 p. 397.17.

110. II. 1.42 p. 397.7.

111. Jacob. *Popular Maxims* Vol. 2. p. 42.

112. I. 39 p. 99.25; IV.1.1 p. 194.17 etc.

113. I. 1.23 p. 82.3.

114. I. 1.59 p. 156.8.

115. Ibid. 9.

Patañjali and Drama :

The existence of drama in its true form in the time of Patañjali has engaged the attention of many scholars.¹¹⁶ Patañjali, commenting on the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, explaining the use of the present in the phrases cited, when the events described lie in the distant past, has mentioned two examples, that of the slaying of Kāṇsa and the binding of Bali. Since the passage has been a subject of great discussion, it may be quoted here in full : *ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite pratyaksham Kāṇsam ghātyanti pratyaksham cha Balim bandhayanānti. Chitreshu katham? chitreshu apy udgūrṇā nipatitās cha prahārā drishyante Kāṇsakarshanyaś cha granthikeshu katham yatra śabdagaḍumātram lakshyate? te 'pi hi teṣhām utpatti-prabhṛity ā vināśād riddhī vyāchakṣhāṇāḥ sato buddhivishayān prakāśayanti. ātāś cha sato vyāmiśrā hi driśyante. kechid Kāṇsabhaktā bhavanti kechid Vāsudevabhaktāḥ varṇānyatvaṁ khalv api pashyanti : kechid raktamukhā bhavanti kechid kālāmukhāḥ.*¹¹⁷ Vārttika 6 makes it certain that the sense of the verb must involve the idea of description (*tad āchashṭa iti*), and so it justifies the use of the causative. Now, there could be three possible ways, as suggested by scholars of describing the scenes of the past : by showing them actually on the stage, or by painting scenes on the canvas and the audience could observe the depicting of the blows rained on Kāṇsa, or the binding of Bali; or by the Śaumbhikas explaining to the audience by shadow figures. The second and the third explanations seem to be inconsistent with the meaning which Patañjali intended to convey. The word *pratyaksham* is important in this respect. Hillebrandt's presumption¹¹⁸ that the Śaumbhikas carried round pictures which they explained, or Lüders' assumption¹¹⁹ that a painter explained to an audience the picture he had painted, are contrary to the sense we get from this passage. There can

116. Weber : *Ind. Stud.* XIII. pp. 488ff; Levi : *Theatre indien* pp. 308 ff; Lüders : *SBAW.* 1916 p. 698 f; Hillebrandt : *ZDMG.* I. xxii p. 227f. Keith : *BSOS.* I. iv. 27f; *Sans. Drama.* pp.31 ff.

117. III. 1.26 p. 36.

118. *op. cit.*

119. *op. cit.*

be no doubt that the Śaumbhikas related the two stories by action and not by presentation in pictures or in words.

The other expression *śabdagaḍumātram lakshyate*, is considered by Keith to be painfully obscure, since *gaḍu* bears no recognized meaning which fits the passage. It cannot be equated with *grantha*, as presumed by Lüders, nor can it inflict on "Patañjali the sin of verbiage, since *Śabdāmātram* would yield the requisite sense, as observed by Hillebrandt". The use of colouring, red and black is equally important and it is presumed that the Granthikas formed two parties whose diverse colours marked their nature as supporters of Kaṁsa or Vāsudeva. Keith suggested¹²⁰ that the development of the epic recitation depicted by Patañjali is in itself, as Professor Levi has shown,¹²¹ the most obvious prelude to the growth of the true drama, and the parallel of the dithyramb is too clear to admit of denial." He explained the passage of Patañjali, interpreted in the light of the Vārttika in a simple and plain sense—the slaying of Kaṁsa and the binding of Bali lie in the distinct past, but one may say *Kaṁsam ghātayati* or *Baliṁ bandhayati*, "he describes the slaying of Kaṁsa, the binding of Bali of the painter whose vivid art brings the scene before our eyes, and the same expressions, in the plural are applicable to the Śaumbhikas, who present in dumb show the scenes, and the Granthikas, who recite, dividing themselves into two parties distinguished by their colour". It is therefore clear that there was union of action of the Śaumbhikas to the recitation of the Granthikas which gives the full dramatic form, but Keith doubted whether by Patañjali's time drama had actually evolved, and the Śaumbhikas and Granthikas represent older stages in the development still existing independently, or the process of evolution was incomplete.¹²²

Now, it appears that scholars have not taken into consideration the other evidence provided by the Bhāṣhyakāra, nor have they viewed it from indigenous dramatic perspective. Patañjali quotes references to the *naṭas* or actors — *naṭasya*

120. op. cit.

121. op. cit.

122. BSOS. Vol. I. iv. p. 31.

śrinoli,¹²³ • *agāśin naṭah*¹²⁴ *naṭasyabhuktam*¹²⁵ and *sarvakeśi naṭah*.¹²⁶ One important passage—*ātas cha upayogo yadā ārambhakā raṅgaṁ gachchhanti naṭasya śroshyāmo granthikasya śroshyāma iti*,¹²⁷ clearly suggests that recitations were made both by the *naṭas* and the *granthikas*, and the expression *ārambhaka* points to the commencement of an action which awakens an interest in the progress of the principal plot. It is clear that this refers to the *sūtradhāra* who first enters the stage and suggests to the audience the name of the drama which is to be staged. In another reference, Patañjali mentions *naṭabhāryā* who had to please many people on the stage (*naṭānāṁ striyo raṅgaṁ gatā yo yaḥ prichchhati kasya yūyaṁ kasya yūyaṁ ili tam tam tava tava ily āhuḥ*).¹²⁸ A male also played the female's part and was known as *bhrukūṁsa*.¹²⁹ In the light of these references, is it at all doubtful that drama in its true form, and dramatic literature were unknown in the time of Patañjali? Even Pāṇini refers to *naṭasūtras*,¹³⁰ the texts for *naṭas*. Keith was not in a position to establish the meaning of *naṭa* which, according to him, might mean no more than a pantomime.¹³¹

Patañjali and Philosophical Data :

Patañjali tried to raise grammar to the standard of philosophy by introducing logical principles, such as the reference to the eternality of *Śabda*, the exposition of the doctrine of *Sphoṭa*, and the application of the principle of Agreement and Difference, or Positive and Negative propositions (*anvaya vyatireka*).¹³² As regards the first aspect, the *Bhāṣyakāra* mentions the names of two eminent grammarians, namely

123. I. 4.29 p. 329.6.

124. II. 4.77 p. 495.12.

125. II. 3.67 p. 468.19.

126. II. 1.69 p. 404.16.

127. I. 4.29 p. 329.7-8.

128. VI. 1.2 p. 7.6.

129. IV. 1.3 p. 196.7.

130. IV. 3.110.

131. op. cit.

132. III. 2.84 p. 113.23.

*Vyāḍi*¹³³ and *Vājapyāyana*,¹³⁴ the former being the 'author of a big treatise called *Samgraha*, and spoken of by the Bhāshyakāra as authoritative (*Samgraha etatprādhānyena*).¹³⁵ He also develops the theme of the externality of *śabda* by which he meant *Spṛṣṭa*—the eternal and imperceptible element of sounds and words and the real vehicle of the idea which bursts or flashes on the mind when the sound is uttered (*dhvaniḥ spṛṣṭas cha śabdānām dhvanis tu khalu lakshyate-alpo mahāns cha keshānchid ubhayaṁ tat svabhāvataḥ*).¹³⁶ Explaining the relation of a word to sense as eternal (*nityo hy arthavatām arthair abhisambandhaḥ*),¹³⁷ he seems to have come into close touch with the Mīmāṃsakas; who are noticed in the *Mahābhāshya* though he does not mention the name of Jaimini. He is also supposed to have reproduced the Sāṅkhya doctrine, while enumerating the six causes that often prevent us from comprehending things that really exist (*śaḍbhiḥ prākāraiḥ śatām bhāvānām anupalabdhir bhavati*).¹³⁸ These are : extreme distance, extreme proximity, intervention of other things, obscurity due to darkness, weakness of visual organs, and extreme carelessness.

The Vedantic philosophy is not noticed in the *Mahābhāshya* but one finds words like *Brahman*, *Akshara* and *Brahmavādin*.¹³⁹ An important matter from the philosophical standpoint is the conception of the non-duality of soul, and he mentions the individual soul (*ātman*) and the supreme soul (*paramātmā*),¹⁴⁰ as well as the physical and internal soul (*śarīrātman* and *antarātman*). The internal soul performs those actions whereby the physical soul feels pain or pleasure (*śarīrātmanā tat karma karoti yena antarātmanā sukhaduḥkhe 'mibhavati*).¹⁴¹ It appears that the two souls not only exist but

133. I. 2.64 p. 244.9.

134. Ibid. p. 242.11.

135. I. 1.1 p. 6.12.

136. I. 1.70 p. 181.24-25.

137. I. 1.1 p. 7.10.

138. IV. 1.3 p. 197.9.

139. VI. 3.86 p. 171.18.

140. III. 2.83 p. 110.2.

141. III. 1.87 p. 68.22.

are active in actions, which is against the Vedantic system of philosophy. In his commentary Kaiyaṭa thoroughly explains the difference of souls and not the agency and objectivity of one and the same soul.¹⁴² Another point worth noting is Patañjali's reference to the *Pramāṇas* (instruments of correct knowledge), which, according to the *Nyāyasūtra*,¹⁴³ are Perception, Inference, Analogy and Śabda. Patañjali refers to them with the single exception of Analogy (*upamiti*) in different passages. It is difficult to say if he was aware of Gautama. As pointed out in the comment on this, the Chārvākas admit only one means viz. Perception (*pratyaksha*), the Vaiśeṣikas and Baudhās admit two, that is Perception and Inference (*anumāna*), the Sāṅkhya admit three—Perception, Inference and Verbal testimony (*āgama* and *śabda*) while the Naiyāyikas admit four. The Bhāṣyakāra does not mention the name of Gautama, the Naiyāyika, but the words *Gautamīya*¹⁴⁴ and *Vākovākya*¹⁴⁵ in the *Mahābhāṣya*, suggest his knowledge of this system of philosophy. In this connection certain other facts may also be taken into consideration, such as, the illustration (*pratyakshas tena agnidhūmayor abhisambandhaḥ*)¹⁴⁶—the clear relation of smoke with the fire. The inference is impossible without previous perception, as mentioned in the *Nyāyasūtra* (*atha tatpūrvakam trividham anumānam*),¹⁴⁷ but in some cases inference is more reliable than perception (*pratyakshād apy anumānabaliyastvam tu evam*).¹⁴⁸ One also finds a reference to *kriyā* or action which is not visible but comprehended only by inference (*kriyā nāmeyam atyantāparidriṣṭā*).¹⁴⁹ The semi-organs are capable of providing cognition only when they have direct association with the mind (*manasā samyuktāni indriyāni upalabdhaḥ kāraṇāni bhavanti*).¹⁵⁰ The sense organs, incap-

142. *Vastutā eva ātmabhēdo na tu ekasyaiva karmatvam karitritvam cha.*

143. I. 1.3—Basu. S. B. *Hindus* p. 2.

144. VI. 2.39 p. 125.12.

145. I. 1.1 p. 9.22.

146. III. 2.124 p. 125.15.

147. I. 1.5.

148. III. 2.124 p. 125.15.

149. I. 3.1 p. 254.15.

150. III. 2.115 p. 120.22-23.

able of giving cognition (perception) by themselves, could only do so through the connection with the mind, to which the Naiyāyikas added another factor—the soul with which the mind gets invariably connected. Thus, according to them, a sense coming in contact with its object produces knowledge in soul only if the sense is conjointed with the mind. This conjunction is a necessary element in the definition of perception.

Another point, worth mentioning, is the conception of the syllogism (*avayavin*). According to the *Nyāyasūtra*, (*sādhayatvād avayavisamdehaḥ*)¹⁵¹ there is, some say, doubt about the whole, which is yet to be established, and parts alone are realities. A tree, for instance, is yellow in some parts and green in others. If it were one whole the contradictory qualities or yellowness and greenness could not have belonged to it simultaneously. Patañjali shares this view (*avayavātmakatvāt samudāyasya avayavātmakaḥ samudāyaḥ abhyantaro hi samudāye 'vayavaḥ-tad yathā vrikshaḥ prachalan saha avayavaḥ brachalati*).¹⁵²

The question of desire, directly known by action, is also referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra (*ichchhāyā hi pravrittita upalabdhīḥ ichchhāyā hi pravrittita upalabdhir bhavati*).¹⁵³ What one desires to do is clearly understood by his action. According to the *Nyāyasūtra*, 'desire, aversion, volition, pleasure, pain, and intelligence are the marks of the soul' (*ichchhā-dvesha-prayātna-sukha-duḥkha-jñānāni ātmano liṅgam iti*).¹⁵⁴ Desire is one of the signs by which soul is usually inferred to exist. It is not directly comprehended by perception but only by inference. One also notices references to malobservation—things that actually do not exist, but appear to do so, as for instance, *mrigatrishṇā*¹⁵⁵—mirage, or the beautiful city of the gandharvas (*gandharvanagaram yathā*).¹⁵⁶ The reverse case of non-perception of realities is also referred to by the Bhāṣya-

151. II. 1.33.

152. VI. 1.1 p. 3.14-16.

153. III. 1.7 p. 14.19-20.

154. I. 1.10.

155. IV. 1.3 p. 196.21.

156. Ibid. 24.

kāra, as for instance, the movement of the Sun *ādityagatival*¹⁵⁷ is imperceptible, though real.

Many more passages and references could be traced to show that Patañjali was familiar with philosophical conceptions. It may be going too far to consider these in detail, but there are certain technical terms which may be mentioned, as for example, *amugama*,¹⁵⁸ *samānādhikaraṇa*¹⁵⁹ (having a common substratum), *anantyaiva*¹⁶⁰ (the state of infinity or eternity), *anaikāntika*¹⁶¹ the fallacy of undistributed middle, and a good many interesting philosophical maxims which are included in the comprehensive work — *Paribhāṣhendusekhara* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. The maxim of the rope which binds at both ends — *ubhayataḥ pāśā rajjuḥ*¹⁶² is most interesting. It leads one to an embarrassing position — a dilemma. As illustrated in the Jaimini section of *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*¹⁶³ — “if you object that non-existence (or absence) cannot be a cause, we reply by asking you whether non-existence can be an effect or not? If it cannot, then we should have to allow that cloth is eternal, as its ‘emergent non-existence’ or destruction would be impossible. If it can be an effect, then why should it not be a cause also?” So this rope binds you at both ends. Another interesting maxim is *ekadeśavikritasyānanyatvāt siddham*¹⁶⁴ — a thing that is changed in one part does not thereby become something else. Here Patañjali illustrates the cutting of a dog’s ear or tail which does not turn it into a horse or donkey but still a dog.

We have not taken into consideration the reference to substance (*dravya*) — different from qualities such as form, smell, odour, sound and touch (*kim punar dravyam ke punar guṇāḥ śabda sparśa rūpa rasa gandhā guṇās tato ’nyad dravyam*);¹⁶⁵ and the eternal entities, including sky, heaven, space

157. II. 2.5 p. 409.24.

158. V. 1.59 p. 355.23.

159. II. 1.1 p. 368.5 etc.

160. I. 1.3 p. 44.

161. I. 2.30 p. 207.10.

162. VI. 1.68 p. 46.19.

163. Cowell — *Trans.* p. 198.

164. I. 1.56 p. 136.10.

165. V. 1.119 p. 366.14.

and time (*nityā dyauḥ nityā prithivī nityam ākāśam iti*).¹⁶⁶ The consideration of the philosophical data makes it clear that the Bhāshyakāra was familiar with the Naiyāyika philosophy. The philosophical literature in that period probably influenced him in his exposition of the grammatical sūtras, and he sought elucidation of the philosophy of grammar.

Medicinal and Surgical data in the Mahābhāshya :

Patañjali refers to the three humours of the body — *vāta* (wind or air), *pitta* — the bilious humour secreted between the stomach and the bowels, and *śleshma*, caused by phlegm or mucus.¹⁶⁷ He also mentions certain diseases like itch (*pāman*),¹⁶⁸ scrofula (*gaḍu*)¹⁶⁹ an excrescence on the head (*gaḍuśiras*),¹⁷⁰ and a kind of leprosy (*dadru*).¹⁷¹ He notices ladies' disease associated with childbirth; sometimes causing the death of the lady during the birth of the first child (*tathā sūtāyām asoshyamānāyām cha bhavati prathamagarbheṇa hateti*).¹⁷² The child was also sometimes prolapsed (from the womb) — (*garbho nirluṭhitah*).¹⁷³ A few specific remedies are also mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*, as for instance, rice-gruel for curing kidney trouble (*mūtrāya kalpate yavāguḥ*), and barley water for excretion (*uchchāraya yavanam iti*).¹⁷⁴ Ghee (*ghrita*) destroyed bilious substance (*pittaghnam ghritam*) and honey removed phlegm (*śleshmaghnam madhu*).¹⁷⁵ Reference is also made to a medicinal oil (*ingudatailam*).¹⁷⁶

Administrative Information :

The information provided by the Bhāshyakāra on the

166. VIII. 1.4 p. 364.25.

167. V. 1.38 p. 351.11.

168. I. 1.23 p. 80.25.

169. IV. 3.39 p. 308.21.

170. II. 3.35 p. 437.17.

171. V. 2.97 p. 396.8.

172. I. 1.21 p. 77.22.

173. I. 3.1 p. 254.16.

174. II. 3.13 p. 449.21.

175. VI. 1.12 p. 17.19.

176. V. 2.29 p. 376.17.

political events, especially the invasion of the Yavanas, has been considered earlier. In our consideration of the administrative data, we notice village as the local unit and its headman was known as *Grāmaṇi*.¹⁷⁷ A collection of five villages was called *Pañchagrāma*.¹⁷⁸ A few officers mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*, are commander-in-chief (*senāni*)¹⁷⁹ and King's physician (*rājavidya*);¹⁸⁰ and minor attendants, such as, the canopy holders (*chhatradhāra*),¹⁸¹ the gate-keeper (*dvārapāla*) and the executioner (*śirashghātin*).¹⁸² Tolls or taxes (*śulka*)¹⁸³ and collective fines are also referred to.¹⁸⁴ This administrative information, supplied by the *Mahābhāshya*, is too meagre to suggest if it is derived from the Smṛiti literature, or Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Patañjali also refers to the three objects of life — *Dharma*, *Artha* politics and practical life in general, and *Kāma*, viz. love or affection (*dharmārthau arthadharmau, kāmārthau arthakāmau*).¹⁸⁵

Miscellaneous data :

This includes information on topics like arms and armaments, trees, birds and animals. The different kinds of arms — spear (*śakti*), plough (*lāṅgala*), goad (*aṅkuśa*), staff (*yashṭi*), club (*tomara*), bow (*dhanus*) and another type of club (*mūsala*)¹⁸⁶ were used; and a systematic planning of defence was made with a moat dug round the city (*utkhāparikhā*).¹⁸⁷ The main strength of the army was called *akshauhiṇī* — a very popular term.¹⁸⁸ Amongst the fruits, plants and trees, men-

177. V. 2.19 p. 340.8.

178. II. 1.51 p. 393.8.

179. V. 1.9 p. 340.8.

180. VI. 1.91 p. 72.16.

181. III. 2.9 p. 94.8.

182. III. 2.84 p. 111.23.

183. V. 1.47 p. 351.21.

184. VI. 1.5 p. 10.28.

185. II. 2.35 p. 437.6.

186. III. 2.9 p. 99.

187. III. 2.101 p. 112.20.

188. VI. 1.89 p. 69.8.

tioned are : berry (*badara*),¹⁸⁹ pomegranate (*dāḍimā*),¹⁹⁰ jasmine (*mallikā*),¹⁹¹ *khādira*, (*palāśa*, *pilu*)¹⁹² — a kind of palm, the jujube tree (*kuvalī*),¹⁹³ *aradu*,¹⁹⁴ and the cotton plant (*pichavya*),¹⁹⁵ bottle-gourd (*alābu*) and flax (*uma*).¹⁹⁶ The animals, reptiles and birds, which are noticed in the *Mahābhāshya*, include, *godhā*¹⁹⁷ — an iguana *sarpa*¹⁹⁸ — ordinary snake, and *mahā-sarpa*,¹⁹⁹ beautiful cow (*govrindāraka*) and horse (*aśva-vrindāraka*),²⁰⁰ donkey (*khara*),²⁰¹ camel (*ushtra*),²⁰² sheep (*eḍaka*),²⁰³ deer (*mṛiga*),²⁰⁴ peacock (*mayūra*),²⁰⁵ pigeon (*kapota*),²⁰⁶ a young sparrow (*chātaka*),²⁰⁷ large fish (*timinṅila*),²⁰⁸ goose (*hamsa*)²⁰⁹ and a kind of eagle (*kurara*). The data provided by the *Mahābhāshya*, on these topics are also meagre. The information is too general for any presumption regarding treatises on Botanical and Zoological subjects known to the Bhāshyakāra.

Patañjali's style :

In order to estimate the worth of a literary work, it is necessary to consider the material furnished by it, and the way in which it is presented. In short, it is not only what is said,

189. I. 1.58 p. 153.13.
190. I. 1.1 p. 38.5.
191. IV. 3.166 p. 328.2.
192. IV. 1.27 p. 213.
193. IV. 3.180 p. 323.5.
194. IV. 1.56 p. 326.11.
195. V. 1.2 p. 337.4.
196. V. 2.29 p. 376.9.
197. I. 1.23 p. 82.6.
198. II. 1.69 p. 404.19.
199. V. 3.55 p. 413.14.
200. II. 1.69 p. 403.11.
201. V. 2.107 p. 397.9.
202. I. 1.50 p. 120.6.
203. II. 3.67 p. 268.20.
204. II. 4.12 p. 475.18.
205. II. 3.67 p. 468.16.
206. IV. 2.36 p. 278.21.
207. IV. 1.28 p. 258.20.
208. VI. 3.70 p. 168.8.
209. I. 2.67 p. 248.8.

but how it is said which is equally important. On this point Patañjali seems to have placed himself in the position of a young keen student anxious to master the riddles of grammar through a scientific and logical technique. A question is put and the student raises the issue in an intelligent manner with the teacher — who finally solves the problem. The pros and cons are equally weighed. It no doubt involves a heavy strain on the reader, especially those who are unfamiliar with the method followed, but certainly it represents a style of its own. Expressions and references relating to matters of every day life enhance the value of the work which also depicts the cultural condition in that period. With a view to giving a concrete idea of Patañjali's style, one or two passages may be quoted here. The first is the famous Mauryan passage — being a comment on the sūtra *jīvikārthe chāpaṇye*. Pāṇini mentions that the suffix *ka* is added to a name denoting an image of a deity, but that suffix is dropped, if the image secures for the person a livelihood (*jīvikā*), provided it is not vendible (*apaṇya*). Now the difficulty is raised with regard to the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha. Here the suffix *ka* is dropped despite the fact that the Mauryas in their greed for money had disposed of such images. So the form should be *Śivaka*, *Skandaka* and *Viśākha-ka*. Finally, he says that taking it for granted that the rule of dropping *ka* does not apply to those images of the Mauryas, still as regards images used for purpose of worship it does apply (*bhavet tāsu na syāt yās tu etāḥ sampratipūjārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati*).²¹⁰ In the second passage, from the rule laying down the eatable things, one can understand those things which are not to be eaten. When it is said that (only) five five-nailed animals may be eaten, it is to be understood that all the rest are not to be eaten or by forbidding the eating of something, those that may be eaten can be known. Thus, when it is said that the village cock or pig should not be eaten, it is to be understood that the wild cock or pig may be eaten. (*abhakshyo-grāmyakukkūṭo 'bhakshyo grāmyaśūkara ity ukte gamyata etad āraṇyo bhakshya iti*).²¹¹

Patañjali seems to be conscious of his reader's difficulty

210. *V. 3.99 p. 4-9.4.

211. I. 1.1 p. 5.17-18.

and limitations; and, therefore, he tries to interest him with similies and metaphorical expressions and maxims which have been considered earlier. Such a device is expected to lighten the strain on the reader. The difficulty to follow Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* was, however, experienced even by the commentators — Kaiyaṭa and Nagojibhaṭṭa, but one can hardly deny that the Bhāṣhyakāra tried to hit two birds with a stone. He succeeded in presenting grammar on a scientific basis for the Śiṣṭas, and, for the succeeding generations, he was equally successful in presenting a picture of India of his time which was not free from political upheavals.

We have tried to assess in this chapter the literary talents of the Bhāṣhyakāra and the probable literature on different subjects with which he was familiar. The reference to the Kāvya of Vararuchi Jābāli, and his own experiments in poetic metres testify to the development of Kāvya literature in that period. Parallelism between passages from the *Mahābhāṣya*, and those taken from the Vedic literature illustrate the vast bibliography with which Patañjali was conversant. As regards the Smṛiti passages, probably there was a common source for the Smṛitikāras and the Bhāṣhyakāra. Drama and dramatic literature were well-known, and Patañjali has actually quoted two such dramas. The popular literature was also utilized by the Bhāṣhyakāra and we find a good many maxims, some dealing with bird fables. The data relating to Medicine, administration, Botany and Zoology are also considered in this Chapter. There was, very probably, literature on some of these subjects. We have not taken into consideration either Pālī or Prākṛit source for obvious reasons — paucity of any fixed datum of time, and because the present study is confined from the literary standpoint to the *Mahābhāṣya* alone. These were apparent reasons for skipping over those sources.

CHAPTER IX

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Śuṅga period is notable for a change in the sphere of art and architecture. The so-called national school of art, characterised by colossal mass on the one hand, and the court patronage on the other, assumed a democratic shape and became more popular among the masses. The ordinary people did not hesitate to donate or dedicate a piece of railing, or some other object for the service of the Lord. Despite the religious aspects underlying these works of art, one finds people in their merry-making mood, happy, cheerful, and gay. Another innovation is the introduction of the human form, not noticed in the Mauryan period, which plays a prominent part in complete alignment with natural objects, such as trees, creepers, animals etc. in happy harmony with one another. The method adopted is, no doubt, simple and the human beings are depicted in their simple outlook despite the social inter-fusion of different grades from the royalty and nobility to the aborigines. Art thus expresses the contemporary Indian mind and outlook in different shades, and forms involving iconographic conception of Indian divinities and such demi-gods and goddesses as Yakshas and Yakshīs, Kinnaras and Kinnarīs. Another important feature distinguishing the art of this period from that of Mauryans is the use of stone on a grand scale. The *takshan* or the carpenter, whose services were needed for carving out beautiful designs and details, is now replaced by the *śailarūpakāra* or the sculptor. Patañjali refers to the *Rājataakshan* employed specially by the King (*taksha rājakarmanī pravartamānaḥ svam karmam jahāti*),¹ who then gives up his private work. The *śilpin* too is mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya* earning his livelihood on pay or wages (*sūpino nāma te'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante vetanam cha lapsyāmahe*),² but this term could be used for all types of artisans using technical skill. The fact seems to be that wood was not completely replaced by stone though the latter was more in use. This change can be seen in

1. II. 1.1 p. 364.12.

2. III. 1.26 p. 36.4.

the lunette depicting an elephant procession in the *Lomasa Rishi* cave facade.³ Another important phase of artistic development in this period is the hewing of caves and vihāras to cater permanently for the spiritual and temporal needs of the Buddhist monks. This phase, owing to facility of natural resources, was localised to a particular region.

The famous stūpa at Bhārhut with its railings and toraṇas, and at Sāñchī with its railings, were also set up in the Śuṅga period, as is evident from the epigraphic records. Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Sārnāth, too, were not slow in their artistic activities, and, their productions in this period are worth considering. The famous Bodh-Gayā railing enclosing the Bodhi tree, where the lord took his *Chamkrama*, also belongs to this period. It, thus, becomes imperative to study the evolution of art and architecture in the Śuṅga period from different facets at the important centres of art. The famous Jain caves at Udaigiri and *Khaṇḍagiri* cannot be ignored and one would be interested in the Besnagar Garuḍa column as well which was set up during this period. The terracotta figures, notable for their mass production, have also to be considered from the point of view of style and special features. Lastly, we have to consider the earlier phase of the Rock-cut architectures of western India, and town architectural planning, such as we notice in the sculptures of the Bhārhut and Sāñchī gateways. There may be chronological over-lapping which need not be disapproved.

Bhārhut Stūpa, Railing and Torāṇas :

The sculptures from Bhārhut, being a part of the stūpa which once existed at the site in the Madhyadeśa, and now forms part of a special gallery in the Indian Museum are a class by themselves. The name of the *navakarmika*, or superintendent in charge of the monument noticed in a record,⁴ suggests that it was erected under the supervision of a person and the expenses were met from the contributions made by members of both the sexes. The donors ranged from ordinary

3. Percy Brown : *Indian Architecture*, pl. fig. 1.

4. Lüders List no. 773.



Bhārhut-Jetavana Scene (Courtesy, Indian Museum, Calcutta)

persons to those of the regal class to which the two *mītra* ladies belonged. The stūpa with its railings and gates was set up at one time, and not by stages as we find at Sāñchī. This is clear from the script of the donatory records inscribed on the railings. The time factor is completely eliminated both in the manner of presentation, as well as in the subject matter dealing with the life of the Master. There is symmetry, and no scene is left incomplete. Even the Jātaka stories, depicting the life of the Tathāgata in his previous births, represent that special note of solemnity and dignity which is essential for creating a firm impression on the mind of the devotee. It makes him conscious of life which is to be taken in a serious and ethical spirit. The votaries, simple and unsophisticated, do not lack that jovial feeling which one experiences after he has found a panacea for his sufferings. This may be illustrated by the dancing scene, so beautifully depicted in a rhythmical manner, when Gautama attained enlightenment.⁵ The figures of the Yakshas, Nāgas and Kinnaras with their female counterparts are also notable.

With all the seriousness of life, viewed in its religious and ethical background, the sociological outlook is not wanting. In fact the Śūnga art at Bhārhut is richest in the social content — representing the life of the people — not without humorous scenes. Human life plays an important part, and the sculptor has taken pains to exhibit the picture of society explicitly and in a lucid manner, as he has handled the life story of the Master. Nature, too, is in harmony with both. As these sculptures have been treated in detail, we shall confine our study only to a few new pieces. A coping stone from Bhārhut, now in the Allahabad Museum,⁶ depicts an interesting scene. At the top there is a border of stepped merlons with alternate horizontal lotuses, while below there are four panels cut by an undulating creeper. The first contains only a hanging cloth, but in the second two figures are noticed engaged in conversation. They stand between two houses which have vaulted roofs, star shaped windows and mud walls. The figure on the left holds an animal in his left hand while another

5. Cunningham : *Bharhut*. pl. XV.

6. Kala : *Bharut Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*. pl. XII.

is seen seated on the top of another cottage. A *chakra* is placed between two *thūpikas* on the top of the cottage to the left. In the third panel one finds ornaments consisting of ear-rings, bangles and elaborate armlet. The last panel contains a simple cottage (*Panakuṭi*). An inscription on the stone is read by the curator as *Gaja Jātaka sasa*, which is completed above the panel on the right with the additional word — *Jātaka*, according to B. M. Barua⁷ who considered the text of the full label analogous to another Bhārhut Jātaka label reading *Vidala Jātaka, Kukuṭa Jātaka*. These two creatures mentioned in different stories seem to be important characters. This can only relate to the *Gajakumbha Jātaka*⁸ which describes the previous birth of the Buddha as a minister of the King of Banaras who took a tortoise and a hare giving to the slothful king an object lesson of how the indolent came to misery. The tortoise is symbolised by his laziness and the hare by his activity though the popular version is just the reverse.

The *Sasa Jātaka* story figures prominently in another sculpture⁹ on a rail pillar from Bhārhut, now in the Allahabad Museum; containing an elaborate scene in the middle. To the right is seen a spouted jar with two baskets filled with mangoes, and in the middle is a fire altar. An animal, probably a hare, is seen facing it. Behind him another animal whose head and half body are cut off, is seated in the left corner. A lizard and an other are in between the hare and the half cut animal. The scene represents the story in the *Sasa Jātaka*¹⁰ where the hare sacrificed himself by plunging into the fire, when food was demanded from him by Sakra in disguise. The hare's nobility was related in the course of giving thanks to a land owner of *Sāvatthi* who had entertained the Buddha and his monks for seven days. In this scene, the hare is shown ready to jump into the fire. This *Jātaka* scene is also observed at Nāgārjuni-kunḍa¹¹ and in a sculpture in the British Museum.¹²

7. JUPHS. Vol. XIX. p. 48.

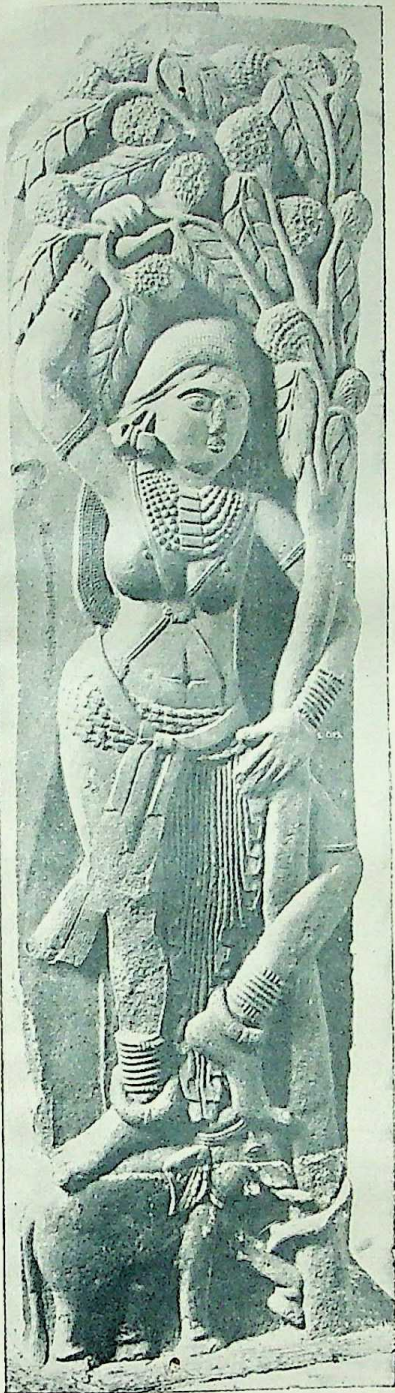
8. No. 345; Vol. III. p. 139.

9. No. B.549. Kala — *op. cit.* pl. IV.

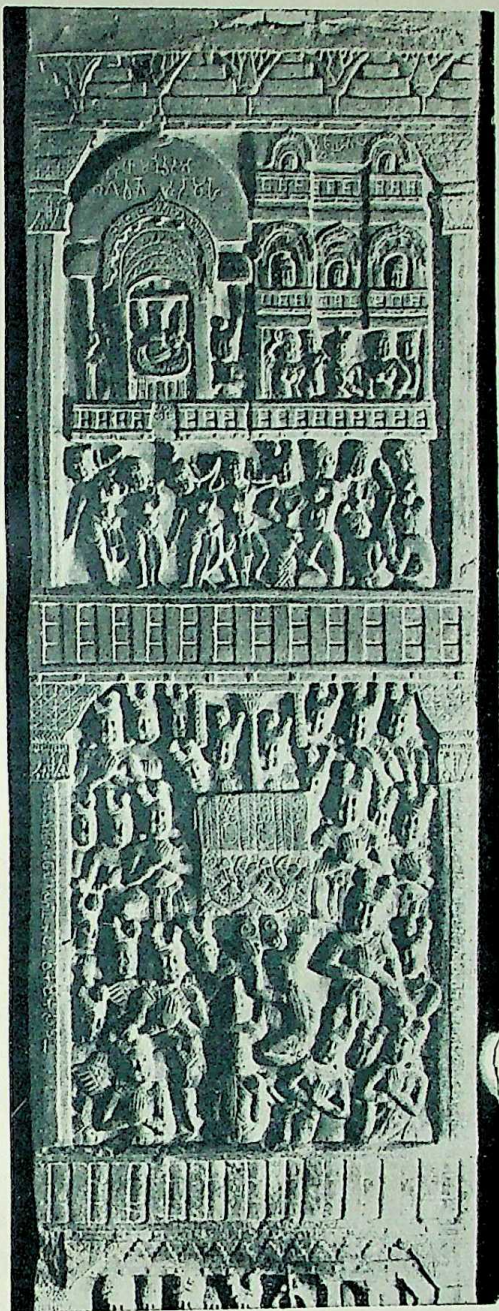
10. Malalasekera — *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

11. *Memo. Arch. Sur. Ind.* No. 24 p. XVIII.

12. Fergusson: *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. LXXXIII. Fig. 2.



Bhārhut-Cūlakokā Devata
(Courtesy, Indian Museum, Calcutta)



*Bhārhut (Top) Heavenly dancing scene. (Below)
Ajatasatru's visit to the Buddha* (Courtesy,
Indian Museum, Calcutta)

A moving elephant with two riders carrying the relics of the Buddha in an ornamental covering is seen in a fragment of a coping stone.¹³ It probably suggests the scene of one of the claimants carrying his share after the division of the relics. At the top, as usual, there is a border of stepped merlons alternating with blue lotuses, and at the bottom one finds bells fastened to a hanging chain.

The *Vessantara Jātaka* scene is depicted on a corner pillar¹⁴ from Bhārhut with two faces, each side being divided into three panels by horizontal bands of railing. The scene in the upper-most panel shows a royal personage riding on a richly caparisoned elephant, two small figurines probably attendants are noticed near the tusk of the elephant. In the middle are four horses with manes while a male figure probably stands or is seated on a chair. The lower most panel, as usual, shows two stumpy figures supporting the structure with their upraised hands. On the other side in the uppermost panel a royal figure is pouring water with a *kamandalu* in the hands of a Brāhmaṇa who faces him. At the back are seen two male figures with upraised hands. In the second panel there are again four horses with beautiful manes now yoked in a chariot while three figures, probably, Brahmins because of their matted hair stand near the feet of the horses with folded hands. At the bottom the two stumpy figures support the heavy structure with upraised hands. The story is too long to be told here, but its moral is 'sacrifice for others'; thus stressing the efficacy of *dāna* even at personal sacrifice. This Jātaka story is represented in another panel of Bhārhut railing¹⁵ as well as at Sāñchī.¹⁶

Other fragments of coping stones from Bhārhut depict in one case two deer grazing and a Brahmin standing inside the foliage of a mandāra tree. The bottom depicts hanging bells while at the top there is the usual border of stepped merlon. In another coping stone a peacock is shown with out-spread tail though the body is cut off and only a part is visible under

13. No. 500 — *op. cit.* pl. VII.

14. *op. cit.* pl. VI(A) and B.

15. Barua : *op. cit.* Pt. III. scene 138.

16. •Marshall & Foucher — *Sāñchī*. Pts. 23, 25, 27 etc.

a panel made by an undulating creeper.¹⁷ The sculpture is too mutilated to give any faithful representation. The inscription on the top is read as *Haṃsa Jātaka*.

Besides these Jātakas scenes, a few are noted for the humourous and jovial atmosphere. The acrobatic scene on the pillar post¹⁸ is interesting in this respect. The stone has circular panels at the top and at the bottom. In the middle there is a group of hanging men. They are nine in number and hold firmly the feet of the one just above with both the hands. The dress is, as usual, a loin cloth tied by a scarf, embroidered turban, necklace and bracelets and a long scarf thrown round the shoulder with ends falling on either side. To the right and left stand a male and female with folded hands on lotuses. The inscription on the sculpture records it as the gift of the nun *Pushyadattā* of *Nāgarika*. The association of an acrobatic scene with a Buddhist monument is very interesting. According to Barua,¹⁹ it stands on a par with the wrestling and dancing scenes and these fit well into the artistic scheme of the Bhārhut railing as seeming to represent a *melā* held in connection with the celebration of the *Stūpa-festival* (*thūpamahā*). Patañjali also refers²⁰ to festival gatherings (*samāja*) and it was not uncommon to have entertainments and display of acrobatic feats.

Another piece of sculpture on a fragment of a coping stone from Bhārhut depicts an *aśvattha* tree inside a panel made by an undulating creeper, and two deer grazing and a man (supposed by the curator to be a Brahman) standing inside the foliage of a *mandāra* tree. The bottom border, as usual, shows hanging bells. According to Barua,²¹ the figure inside is simply that of a man in standing pose inside the foliage of a Banyan tree and not of a Brāhmin, while the scene depicts either two deer, one behind the other or one emerging first from the foot of the tree on the right and then appearing beneath it on the left. As regards the identification of the scene, it

17. op. cit. B. 19 pl. XIV.

18. ibid. No. B. 542.

19. op. cit. p. 51.

20. I. 1.50 p. 120.3.

21. op. cit. p. 49.

lies between two birth stories viz. *Kandina-Jātaka* (No. 13) and *Kuruṅga Jātaka* (No. 21).

These are some of the sculptures, mostly on the fragments of coping stone, now in the Allahabad Museum and they have been noticed here since they are new acquisitions. A detailed study of the Bhārhut sculptures, representing the earliest phase of Indian art, has been made by many scholars. It would not be proper to pronounce any opinion on the art as a whole unless we take into consideration the Yaksha and Yakshīs which figure so prominently both at Bhārhut as well as at Sāñchī.

Sāñchī :

According to Marshall,²² the original structure of burnt brick of the Great stūpa had suffered great damage before the outer casing was added to it, and it is plausibly conjectured that it was done by the order of Pushyamitra, the Śuṅga. The stūpa was of about the same size as the stūpa of Aśoka at Sārnāth, about 60' in diameter at the base with a raised terrace surrounding its base and a crowning pinnacle (*harmikā*), surmounted by one or more umbrellas (*chhattrāvalī*) within a small square railing. The balustrades above the base and the raised terrace were presumably of wood since all vestiges of them have disappeared. A little further he suggested,²³ that it was reconstructed under one of the Śuṅga kings about the middle of the second century B.C. The additions, made by way of reconstruction, comprised the existing envelope of stone in which the whole body of the original stūpa was encased; the lofty stone terrace and two flights of stairs at its base; the stone flagging of the processional path, the stone balustrades in place of the older-fashioned ones of wood—one around ground level procession, a second around the terrace berm, and a third on the top of the dome, and lastly, the *harmikā* and umbrellas (*chhattrāvalī*) which crowned the whole. It has been pointed out by him that it could not have been done during the reign of the anti-Buddhist Pushya-

22. *Sāñchī*—*op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 24.

23. *ibid.* p. 29.

mitra, nor, for palaeographic reasons, could it be brought down much later than the middle of the second century B.C.

The contribution of the Śuṅga period at Sāñchī is confined to the minor carvings on the berm and stairway balustrades of stupas 1 and 3 which, according to Marshall, were executed shortly after the middle of the second century, B.C., but they throw little light on the history of the local art in stone. The sculptures of stupa No. 2, are the earliest important examples of indigenous relief work in stone. The problem of the subject matter did not present much difficulty as the artists were familiar with the motifs belonging to the life of the master along with the Buddhist emblems — the famous *triratna* — Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The massive railing of 88 pillars round the stūpa, which was completed in a couple of years, provided scope for the sculptors to display their talents. Plants, flowers and trees, with their salient features were also associated with human figures and so too were the quadrupeds — the elephant, lion, horse and bull. A galaxy of fabulous creatures, fish tailed *makaras*, winged human heads, stags with elephant heads and fish tails, cobra-headed *nāgas* with human bodies and such other creatures, which the artists could easily conceive and carve out, found a place on the railings. The space being limited, scope, too, was restricted with the result that we do not find Jātaka stories. Owing to the paucity of space, allusive emblems or figures were used to denote the important events, as for example, the lotus suggested Nativity, deer — *mrigadāva*, and Wheel — the first sermon at Sārnāth.

The carvings display disparity in the quality of workmanship and are wanting in uniformity. This is rather natural, since the posts, cross-bars and coping stones were donated by different persons, while the sculptures were carved by different artists. The design and taste differed, depending on the resources of the donor, and the talents of the carver.²⁴ This does not make the sculptures free from monotony which is apparent, as for example, principal designs are repeated, particularly, the Tree of Life design, or the Māyā Lakshmi²⁵ figures, though

24. cf. Pl. 78, 23a, b, c.

25. cf. Pls. 74, 75, 82, 83 etc.

slight difference is not imperceptible. The Wheel of Law surmounting a pillar and the latter, too, supported by the Tree of Life, is repeated a number of times with variations on the balustrade.²⁶ It is needless to go into the differences which have been pointed out by Marshall. Despite unequal merits, the reliefs, with a few exceptions, form a thoroughly homogenous group marked by a few characteristic features of a technical nature.

The technical observation, from the point of view of stone cutting, reveals that the reliefs are strictly in one plane with little attempt to reach depth in stone cutting — whether for human floral or animal figures, or decorative devices. Here the law of frontality applied in the case of human beings, and the memory picture are fully operative with the result that the figures are carved front-faced and the feet are usually turned sideways, though occasionally in the same direction.²⁷ In some cases weight is thrown on both the legs with the two halves corresponding exactly.²⁸ Generally the arms and legs are in varying postures. If one arm is raised then the other hangs down, or held horizontally across the waist. The figures stand out in well-defined relief. There is a tendency to depart from the rigidity and stiffness, so common in the early art of Bhārhut and the artist is not unsuccessful in his attempt. There are, however, certain exceptions pointing to a more developed style, as for example, in the case of an elephant and a riders' trampling on a prostrate foe at the base of a Pillar.²⁹ The riders are sitting with ease, but the elephant is carved out with a degree of freedom and energy. The realistic attitude of the beasts, and the vigorous, yet delicate, modelling of their heads, plead for a more matured nature of art in these reliefs which are perfectly Indian. It is possible, as has been pointed out,³⁰ that the sculptor imitated his elephant group from some well-known prototype of that subject with which he was familiar and which was more advanced in style and

26. Pillar 3a, 5a, 44b, 46b — Ref. Marshall.

27. Pl. 74, 1b, 1c; 126 & 15a — *ibid*.

28. *Ibid*. 12b, 15a, 49a.

29. Pl. 74.

30. *op. cit.* p. 102.

technique. It may not have been an exact copy of the model before him or that which he may have seen and clearly remembered. Marshall has explained that in the second and first centuries B.C., the dissemination in India of Asiatic Greek art in the form of coins, gems, terracottas, small carvings and textiles acted as a valuable stimulus to indigenous art, not only providing it with new motifs but leading in many cases to the adoption of more developed technique. He also traced the strength of the western Asiatic influence in such motifs as centaurs,³¹ human-headed lions,³² and fish tailed stags and mermaids³³, and perhaps also in the Yakshī grasping a bough. In this connection, it is necessary to compare the art at Sāñchī with that at Bhārut with a view to tracing certain common features and differences and the possible foreign influence.

According to Marshall, once again, the balustrade and gateway of the stūpa at Bhārhut, like that of the second stūpa at Sāñchī were erected during the period of the Śuṅgas, but various features of the carvings, as well as, the palaeography of the inscriptions indicate that the gateway and certain parts of the balustrades were posterior to the Sāñchī balustrade, though probably not by more than two or three decades. This fact has to be viewed with caution and we defer its consideration till we have noticed the common features, both in style and technique.

Characteristically Indian, both the schools were struggling from the trammels of archaism into freedom and exhibit somewhat similar traits of awkwardness and stiffness due to the constraint of the 'memory image', lack of perspective and the stiff effective law of 'frontality'. Marshall concludes³⁵ that "the reliefs of Bhārhut, like those of Sāñchī, are distinguished by the presumption of a small percentage of carvings of unusually free and advanced style, which there are good reasons for ascribing to north-western influence. Taken as a whole, the reliefs of Bhārhut mark a definite advance on those of stūpa 2

31. *ibid.* pl. 75 Pillar 7b.

32. *ibid.* 8a.

33. *ibid.* 7a.

34. Pl. 87 Pillar 75a.

35. *op. cit.* p. 103.

at Sāñchī.” In regard to subjects, they are altogether more ambitious; the sculptors are no longer content with simple decorations or figurine groups, as one notices at Sāñchī, but set themselves to portray a variety of scenes representing episodes from the Life of the *Tathāgata* or his previous births. Even in constricted spaces, the artists have squeezed in many figures crowding the gateway's reliefs, as they are at Sāñchī.

The differences between the sculptures at Sāñchī and those at Bhārhut are due to each having different traditions and methods. At Sāñchī the art is more natural and unconstrained, the poses of the figures are full and easy as the skill of the sculptor could make them, their contours smooth and rounded, and their minor features unaccentuated. On the contrary, at Bhārhut the sculptor seems striving after conscious definition and truth rather than unaffected simplicity, with no laxity in style which is rather tense and artificial. The contours are clear cut and precise, 'anatomical details consciously and incisely defined and every ornament put with meticulous accuracy'. Marshall noticed a certain restrained mannerism, a pleasing affectation and dignified stylishness about these sculptures which are not found on the earlier balustrade of stūpa 2, or on the later gateways at Sāñchī, and, while the Indian art of the Malwa school lacks in religious tone, that of Bhārhut is more impressive and ecclesiastic. Bhārhut was more closely connected with the early school of Mathurā which may have been the principal centre from which it diffused, while its eclipse may have been due to the Śaka conquest of that city which took place in the first century B.C.

These contentions have raised many interesting points. Firstly, Marshall presumed that the Bhārhut art was posterior to that represented on the earlier balustrade of stūpa 2 at Sāñchī, showing a more ambitious and advanced nature of sculptures, fitted for the purpose of depicting the true ecclesiastical history of Buddhism. Further, Bhārhut was more aligned to the early art of Mathurā which might have been the source of the dissemination of art at Vidisā, and this school seems to have been eclipsed as a result of the invasion of the Śakas. In this connection, space and horizon have also to be taken into consideration. If the Sāñchī sculptor lacks ana-

tomical details consciously and incisively defined, surely it is not he who is to be blamed, but the available space confining his activity to the balustrades alone. It is equally true that we notice certain Kharoshthī characters engraved as mason's marks which indicate that they had some thing to do with those sculptures. This need not be a ground for presuming that the Bhārhut sculptures are posterior even by two or three decades to those at Sāñchī, where one does not find Kharoshthī signs. The Kharoshthī signature in the Maski inscription recording the Minor Rock Edict of Asoka is equally inexplicable, though it was presumed by Smith³⁶ that the scribes of the day were skilled in both the scripts. Under these circumstances it would be unwise to presume the posterior character of the Bhārhut sculptures on the basis of some Kharoshthī mason marks.

It has also been suggested that these signs imply the utilization of foreign artists who were called to help the local talents. Political relations, such as existed between the Indo-Greeks and the Śuṅga rulers of Vidisā close to Sāñchī, would certainly have made it possible in the case of the Malawa school, but one does not trace Kharoshthī signs there. Coomaraswamy suggested³⁷ that in some respects the art at Sāñchī seemed to start from a point less advanced than that of the preceding century. Thus, some reliefs on the same railing (fig. 52) exhibit a much greater knowledge of the figure representing pose and movement with animation and grace, and this stylistic advancement cannot imply foreign influence nor does the phrase 'direct observation of nature' and 'free from the trammels of the memory image' meet the case.

One may presume that though the two schools of Bhārhut and Sāñchī were independent of each other, they certainly had to rely on some guiding principles obtained by a synthesis, based on mental visualization and abstraction. The improvement in style and pose depended on the artist's skill with the result that on the same railing some reliefs depicting the treatment of human figures are more primitive, while others

36. *History of Fine Art in India*, p. 30.

37. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* p. 35.

are more advanced.³⁸ As regards the age of the two schools, they were more or less contemporary, but Bhārhut seems older. It is rather strange that Bhārhut died down with the Śuṅgas while Sāñchī continued to flourish in the time of the Āndhras and the Kushāṇas as well. As regards their relations with the Mathurā art, Bhārhut was certainly connected with it, but whether the former was an offshoot of the later or just the reverse is still undecided and one would prefer to keep an open mind on this subject. Vogel referred to the mixed character of the Mathurā school in which we find on the one hand a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Barahat (Bhārhut) and Sāñchī and on the other hand the classical influence derived from Gandhāra.³⁹ These views might be applicable to the later phase of the Mathurā art. During the Śuṅga Period, there is no question of any influence from the North-West.

Bodh-Gaya :

The railing at Bodh-Gayā, presumed to be associated with Aśoka, in fact later than Bhārhut and earlier than Sāñchī — dates roughly from about the first century B.C. About 30 pieces were found evidently belonging to distinct structures, some pieces of a granite and others of sand stone, but all are similar in style. According to Cunningham,⁴⁰ there is considerable variety in the subjects depicted in these small medallions and amongst them are to be found illustrations of the famous *Kalpadruma* or wishing tree, the *Indra-sāla-guhā* and the Jethvana vihāra scenes. It is needless to go into details regarding the description of these scenes which are not new or capable of any fresh interpretation. Originality and abstraction, as we find at Bhārhut, are wanting, but the carvings have special interest embodying, according to Marshall,⁴¹ two distinct traditions — that of the Bhārhut-Mathurā school which is spe-

38. Coomaraswamy — op. cit. Pl. 51, 52.

39. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1906-7, p. 145; Cf. Foucher — *L'art Gréco-Buddhist* Tome I. pp. 225 and 615.

40. *Bodh-Gaya* p. 12.

41. Op. cit. p. 106.

cially noticeable in the lotus medallions centred with human heads or busts. They, however, lack the same breadth of style and firmness, and precise modelling. The treatment of features is insignificant and workmanship is comparatively poor. The influence of the Malawa school is noticeable in easy postures and rounded contours of some of the figures and the simple but orderly composition. By way of illustration, comparison may be drawn between the Jetavana scene⁴² here and at Bhārhut.⁴³ Though the Bodh-Gaya scene is more natural and there is no attempt to distort figures by putting them in the available space in any corner and at any angle, as we notice at Bhārhut, the former lacks vigour and freshness. Anāthapiṇḍika is no longer noticeable in that scene pouring water as a pledge of the completion of the gift, nor are the Gandha and Kosamba *Kuṭis* in their natural surroundings with a group of persons. This scene at Bodh-Gaya is shown in a most unostentatious manner lacking vigour but not natural simplicity devoid of angular deformities.

Most of the other subjects are treated in low relief, those on the copings being purely fanciful. One on the panels and medallions include weird centaurs, winged beasts, domestic animals, sacred trees and sundry scenes of human life exhibiting considerable skill in drawing and neat execution. According to Vincent Smith,⁴⁴ both the conceptions and executions are purely Indian, but Marshall⁴⁵ thought that a marked feature of the later, as well as the earlier sculptures at Bodh-Gaya, was the presence among them of various motifs of Hellenistic or Western Asiatic origin, such as, centaurs, winged and fish-tailed monsters, tritons, schematic animal freezes and most significant of all — the sun god in his characteristic four horse chariot. These show how freely in that period Indian sculptors were borrowing from the hybrid cosmopolitan art of western India, and one of them, at least the chariot of the Sun-god, gives a

42. Cunningham — Op. cit. Pl. VIII. no. 8.

43. ibid — Bharut Pl. XXVIII. No. 3.

44. Op.cit. p. 32.

45. Op. cit. p. 106.

clear indication of the debt they may have owed to that art in the matter of technique.

Now here, too, one may not agree with Marshall's views as regards the influence of Western Asiatic art at Bodh-Gaya in the first century B.C., a question which is very problematic. The worship of the Sun-Sūrya was very common and Patañjali refers to this deity in about a dozen passages. So the subject matter is Indian in origin, but so far as animals and other creatures are concerned, we have already referred to the data available from the *Mahābhāshya* on flora and fauna. One may presume that the Indian sculptors, who had hardly any model before them, depended more or less on their mental visualization, which was based on synthesis and abstraction of details and other available information. We are, therefore, not prepared to admit foreign influence in subject matter or design and style, but we keep an open mind on this subject.

Besnagar Column :

The Besnagar column quite close to Sāñchī which was set up by Heliodorus, son of Dion, an ambassador from the court of Antialkidas to Bhāgabhadra, the Śuṅga ruler at Vidisā, should naturally have traces of foreign influence. A description of the shaft with the capital is necessary. The pillar is much smaller than the Aśokan ones and has eight angles. It is furnished with an ornamentation consisting of half-lotus flowers; and above, it is divided into sixteen panels, followed by a broad cluster of fruit and finally the shaft continues towards the summit with a surface divided into thirty-two panels. The last stretch is smooth and the capital exhibits the well-known Indian bell-shape.⁴⁶ A few geese can still be distinguished inclining one towards the other, on the remains of the abacus. The whole structure was originally crowned with a Garuḍa. According to Percy Brown,⁴⁷ the shape and fluting of the camniform

46. Bachhofer : *Early Indian Sculptures*, p. 29.

47. *Op. cit.* p. 106.

capital are of Persepolitan provenance but at the same time bear a marked resemblance to the capital of the Bhārhut toraṇa with which the pillar was contemporary. In the ornamentation of the shaft, the lower part of which is octagonal and the upper sixteen sided, with a band above of thirty-two facets, there may have been the beginning of a method of enriching this part of the pillar which was developed with notable effect in the columns of the later style. Now, barring the shape and the fluting of the camniform capital which is not free from controversy, the capital does not betray any foreign influence, despite its being dedicated by a foreigner. Marshall has not failed to pronounce that the Persepolitan columns and the winged lions may well have been a legacy from Mauryan times when Yavana artists were employed by Aśoka. Even if their advent into India took place at a later date, their presence implies nothing more than that foreign objects of art of one kind or another had strayed into the workshops of Central India, and these furnished the local sculptors with a few more motifs and ideas. We have no reason to presume that the Yavana influence on Central Indian art was more direct in their period. One can hardly deny that owing to the political and cultural contacts, it was natural for the Indian sculptors to know some new motifs, but it is difficult to trace any influence more than this superficial contact. The art should have been mature enough to influence but no remains at any rate of any such monuments, nor of any stone carvings at all, have been found in the Greek city at Taxila, which was the important centre of their settlements.

Mathurā :

Mathurā is notable for the most conspicuous specimens of the old Indian school of art and it is more akin to Bhārhut with remarkable parallels of toraṇas, railings, Yakshas, *Vrikshas*, dwarfs and fantastic animals. Its essentially Indian character is unquestionable and this school can trace its history at least from the Śuṅga period, though the famous Yaksha statues are supposed to be of earlier times. The absence of an Aśoka column here is regrettable. During the Śuṅga period, its im-

portance is not unaccounted for. Patañjali mentions it a number of times and its association with the Śūrasenas. It is true that Mauryan relics have not been found here. The characteristic Mauryan polish is not noticed in any of the sculptures though the existence of old stūpas here is probable in the light of Hiuen-tsang's⁴⁸ testimony. The earliest class of sculptures belong to the second century B.C., and this includes the Parkham and Mansadevi statues. Many more Yaksha statues belonging to this period have been found after the account written by Marshall⁴⁹ and they seem to form a class by themselves. According to Chanda,⁵⁰ these Mathurā images are the crudest products of the early Indian school, though they do not lack certain æsthetic features. As these statues are not confined to Mathurā alone, it is presumed that they were products of a school of art, wholly the result of indigenous traditions and possessing distinct individuality inspiring the sculptors to carve out colossal images worshipped as Yakshas with their counterparts. These are also represented on railings and toraṇas at Śāñchī, Bhārhut and Bodh-Gaya. The cult of these Yakshas and Yakshīs, noticeable as the earliest specimen of Indian art was, according to Coomaraswamy,⁵¹ indigenous in origin with these non-Aryan deities or genii endowed with powers of wealth and fertility which they could confer on the devotee. Before the advent of Buddhism and Jainism they had been accepted as orthodox in Brahmanical theology with a corresponding cosmology of the famous Eight Quarters of the universe. Their worship survived for long, but in sectarian literature they served the purpose of exalting the principal deity either as guardians and defenders of the faith or to be pointed as 'horrible example of depravity'.

From the iconographic point of view the Yaksha statues with their protuberant belly (*kumbodara*), long *dhotī* tied with a belt and a special posture — raising of the right hand and putting the left on the hip, may have served as a formula for the carving out of images not excluding the Buddha image

48. Growse : *Mathurā* p. 62.

49. CHI, Vol. I, p. 632.

50. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1922-3, p. 165.

51. *Kaksas* p. 36.

(*Bodhisattva*), as we find at Sārnāth and Mathurā. Coomaraswamy suggested⁵² that the early images of Yakshas or Yakshīs, whether independent or attendant, provided the model for the cult images of other deities, such as Śiva or Buddha, when Bhakti determined the appearance of all deities in visible forms. The stylistic continuity is maintained in the Parkham and Patna Yaksha images, as well as, in those of the Bodhisattvas at Sārnāth and the Buddha statue in Lucknow Museum.

As regards other antiquities of the Śuṅga period, barring the terracottas, there are a few sculptures carved either on railing figures or cross bars⁵³ including the two sides of a Torāṇa Tympanum⁵⁴ showing scenes from Buddha's life both through symbols and in human form. The last one possibly represents that transitional stage. A railing pillar⁵⁵ obtained from the Yamunā near the *Saptari Tilā-ghāt* is especially important for the scene carved on the upper half rosette which has been identified by Foucher⁵⁶ as the Jātaka of the worst evil'. In its simple style of decoration, the usual type of the Brahmanical anchorite is easily recognizable with his heavy chignon, his beard and short garments, seated on a rolled up mat (*brishi*) at the door of his round *parṇasālā* and engaged in conversation with four wild inhabitants. These include a dove, a crow, a kneeling doe and a coiled snake. There is hardly any trace of foreign influence either in style or in the subject matter. The style is reminiscent of the old Indian school, as pointed out by Foucher, and the subject matter is the Jātaka of the worst evil. According to this story the worst of evils is neither irresistible passion (*kāma*), hunger or covetousness (*lobha*), envenomed hatred (*dveṣa*) nor perpetual fear (*bhaya*) but the body itself, the source of all troubles. Final repose comes from *Nirvāṇa* which is the supreme beatitude.

Another complete upright pillar,⁵⁷ belonging to the second century B.C. has the carved figure of a dancing Yakshī wear-

52. *ibid.* p. 29.

53. Agrawala — *Guide to the Mathura Museum*, Fig. 5, 7, 8.

54. *ibid.* fig. 20.

55. *ibid.* fig. 8.

56. JBORS. 1920 p. 470.

57. Agrawala : *Op. cit.* fig. 5.



(Left) Mathura — The
Jataka of the worst Evil
Scene.

(Courtesy, Mathura
Museum)



(Right) Mathura — The
Dancing Yakshi (Cour-
tesy, Mathura Museum)

ing a conspicuous head-dress — elaborate ornaments consisting of double ear-rings, *padaka*, pearl necklace, a chain passing over the left shoulder and an elaborate belt besides the usual armlets, bracelets and anklets. The Yakshī is shown surmounting an atlantes dwarf with protruding eyes. One can see on the top panel, as suggested by the curator, the figure of the Buddha with a parasol holding disputation with the teachers of rival faiths. Really the figure appears to be that of Mahāvīra, the Jain Tīrthaṅkara because the Buddha image is not found in the sculptures of that period. It is, however, clear that the Mathurā sculptors placed their services at the disposal of all the three important religions — Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. It is not surprising to find Mahāvīra depicted in this panel. The figure is so small that one does not detect Śrī Vatsa symbol. According to Coomaraswamy,⁵⁸ the main Jain established represented by the Kaṅkāli Tīlā already existed in the second century B.C.

The school of Mathurā is more related to Bhārhut than to Sāñchī, and is represented by some fragmentary sculptures dating back to the middle of the second century B.C. The sculptors also carved out Brahmanical deities. A standing image of a two-armed Balarāma, with a canopy of serpent hood the head and snake coils carved at the back and sides of the body with the distinguishing symbols — a club (*mūsala*) in right hand and a plough (*hala*) in the left, is in the Lucknow Museum.⁵⁹ The conspicuous turban, heavy ear-rings, the triangular folds of the *dhoti* hanging between the legs and the knotted girdle, as well as, the frontal effect of the carving suggest that the statue should belong to the Śuṅga period. In this connection it may be pointed out that Patañjali refers to the temples of Rāma viz., Balarāma and Keśava, with the playing of musical instruments.⁶⁰ So it is nothing unusual if this statue of Balarāma, the earliest of all available images of Brahmanical deities in early Indian art, is carved at Mathurā.

We have not referred to the railing pillars, serving as an enclosure of stone round a stūpa or chaitya, enshrining an

58. Op. cit. p. 37.

59. Agrawal — *Guide to the Sculptures in the Lucknow Museum*.

60. II.2.34 p. 436.6.

object of worship and forming an architectural pattern of its own, as observed at Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā. These also enclosed the stūpas — both Buddhist and Jain — at Mathurā. As regards the Buddhist stūpas, there were, according to Hiuen-tsang, still to be seen in the kingdom of Mathurā the stūpa in which were deposited relics of the holy disciples of Śākyamuni, that is, Sāriputra Moggallāna, Pura-Maitrāyāni-putra, Upali, Ānanda, Rāhula and Mañjuśrī. On the yearly festivals the religious people assembled and made their several offerings at the one which was the object of devotion. Five or six *li*, that is about a mile and quarter, to the east of the town was a monastery said to have been built by the venerable Upagupta whose nails were preserved as relics.⁶¹ As regards the Jain stūpa, the ancient one probably, according to Vincent Smith,⁶² could be dated about 100 or 50 B.C. The Puṇyaśālā, called *Prāchīnī* in an inscription⁶³ of the time of the Kushāṇa emperor Huvishka, was an ancient gallery of Brahmanical deities where the Lord from Wokhan had created an endowment. It is, thus, clear that there were at Mathurā, ancient monuments of the three principal religions, though few antiquities are now traceable, which may have been the result of certain plans of excavations carried out there in the last century. The contributions of the Śuṅga period in the Mathurā school of art were not confined to statues of Yakshas and their counterparts, and railing pillars, but included terracottas as well. Those belonging to the Śuṅga period have been recovered from many sites in the Gaṅgā valley. A study of the Śuṅga terracottas would be equally interesting.

Terracottas :

The terracotta figurines constitute an important element in art and they are noticed as early as the period of the Indus Valley Civilization. The subject has been considered at length

61. Growse : *Mathurā* p. 62.

62. *The Jain Stūpa at Mathura* p. 22.

63. EI. Vol. XXI. p. 55.



Statue of Balarāma
(Courtesy, Lucknow Museum)

by many scholars.⁶⁴ Coomaraswamy has divided⁶⁵ these early Indian terracotta figurines into four groups — I. the Indo-Sumerian, II. the period from 1000—300 B.C., III. the Śunga or early Āndhra and IV. the Scytho-Parthian, Kushana, Gupta and later. The characteristic difference between the terracottas of different periods from a technical point of view is that those of the first group are modelled and there is use of moulds. The terracottas of the second group have moulded face and modelled body without any part being separately made and affixed. Those of the third group are moulded. Nudism is one of the most important characteristics of the female figurines in the earlier groups, but those of the fourth group are practically clothed. The nude goddess in the terracottas of the Śunga period is no longer met with, and on the technical side completely moulded plaques replace the modelled figurines. The body is never built up of separate parts nor does this occur again, though this method was followed in the making of wax moulds for the casting of bronze. The most characteristic type, as pointed out by Coomaraswamy,⁶⁶ is a feminine divinity fully clothed in a tunic and *dhoti*. Particular care is taken to show the details of the sex very clearly. The jewelled girdle remains a constant feature, but the types are more varied. The figures and head-dress retain practically the form and detail of the round-faced variety of the previous group — the turbans are larger. Coomaraswamy's conclusions are based on those terracottas in the Boston Museum which, according to him,⁶⁷ seem, with the exception of those in the first group, to have come from Mathurā. But that place was not the only centre for the making of the terracottas. At another place he has referred⁶⁸ to the terracottas of the Maurya and Śunga ages found at Basārh, Taxila, Bhītā, Nāgarī, Mathurā, Pātaliputra, Kosam and Sāñkiśā. Owing to paucity of space we may confine our study only to a few terracottas of the Śunga period recovered from Mathurā, Kosam and some other

64. JASB. Letters Vol. IV. pp. 71f. for collected references.

65. *Archaic Indian Terracottas* — B.M.F.A. B XXV pp. 70-96.

66. *ibid.* p. 70.

67. *ibid.* p. 90.

68. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* p. 214.

sites in the Gaṅgā valley.

At Mathurā, the finds of moulds of the Śuṅga period suggest⁶⁹ that considerable progress had been made in the technique of making terracotta figurines out of an original model, which was first prepared in wax or clay and from which a mould was taken by squeezing on it clay which was baked, so that copies could be made completely out of it. The simpler plan was adopted of pressing the clay into the mould and roughly finishing the back by hand. It would, thus, appear that figurines and reliefs were made from moulds completely, and not partly as in earlier times. On the technical side completely moulded plaques took the place of the modelled one, only the partial moulding of the face took place during this period. There is a variation of feminine standing or seated types, as noticed earlier, in the pose of the figure or in the fan, mirror or other object which it holds in its hands.⁷⁰ They are more akin to the Bhārhut sculptures from the point of view of style, observed in faces and ornamentation. Definite relationship exists between clay and stone objects. Amongst the terracottas of the Śuṅga period from Mathurā may be mentioned the dancing female or *nartakī*, engaged in her toilet, a woman in dancing pose and a wind pipe playing Yaksha.⁷¹ It would appear that the subject matter is not religious, and the female figurines (*kanyās*) are conspicuous giving a charming study of women in different poses of acting, dancing with music and playing with a parrot, their favourite sport. The religious ones include the goddess Śrī Padmā or Gaja Lakshmī with two elephants holding inverted jars and standing on uprising stalks of lotuses, or the goddess Vasudhārā⁷² with triple fish symbols shown on the right side. There are also other examples showing male and female figurines in pairs illustrating procreation (*mithuna*), or showing pot bellied dwarfs (*kukshīla yakshas*) and dwarfish figures.⁷³ A round plaque, showing within a headed border of *kinnara-mithuna*, a pair engaged in

69. JUPHS. Vol. 9, p. 12.

70. Agrawala — op. cit. fig. 1, 5 etc.

71. ibid. figs. 32, 34, 35 and 40.

72. ibid. fig. 14.

73. ibid. fig. 16.

a joy ride, is an excellent piece exhibiting the high quality of Śuṅga terracotta art.⁷⁴ The terracottas of this period also illustrate different types of Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs—the pot bellied (*kukshīla*), ithyphallic (*kumbhamushka*), snouted (*tuṇḍalika*) and nude dwarfs (*nagnaka*).

Several interesting terracottas of the Śuṅga period have been recovered from Kosam, Bhītā and Pāṭaliputra. Amongst the Kosam terracottas, the most important and interesting one is the Vāsavadattā-Udayana⁷⁵ one now in the Bhārata Kalābhavana in Kāśī in three plaques which, with their feet modelling, could be definitely assigned to the Śuṅga period. These plaques were originally from Kauśāmbī and depict the story of Vāsavadattā's escape in an authoritative manner. The third one is broken, but the first two give a complete version of the entire scene. There are three riders on the back of a female elephant noticeable for absence of tusks. Her front leg is raised. Amongst the riders in front a woman holds the goad in her hand against the head of the elephant, and by her side closely touching her sits a male figure holding a lute of seven strings. They are Vāsavadattā and Udayana. Vāsavadattā's dress consists of *sārī* with the usual ornaments, heavy ear-rings and a necklace. Udayana wears a *dholī*. On the back is another person holding the rope fastened round the body of the animal at the back throwing coins which are being picked up by two persons. There is a border of small rosettes, and decorative flowers occupy the free space in the background. The plaque is plain. The story of Vāsavadattā was well-known in the time of Patañjali and he refers to it in his *Mahābhāṣya*.

At Bhītā, too, in the course of excavations, terracottas of different periods were found including some of the Śuṅga period. One scene in the group, belonging to the period, has been identified by Vogel⁷⁶ with the meeting of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā scene. At the top two persons look over railings with foliage to right. Below, to the right a four horse chariot with the charioteer are noticed with a groom. To the left, there is a shrine with chaitya doorway and rail round it. In

74. JUPHS. Vol. IX. p. 35 fig. 37.

75. *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 82.

76. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1911-12 p. 35-36.

front and below the shrine is a tank with lotuses and a figure drawing water. At the bottom are noticed two deer and a peacock (?) to the right. The terracottas from Basarh in Muzaffarpur district, conforming closely to the earlier Mathurā type, can for the most part be assigned to the period 120 B.C. to the close of the first century B.C.⁷⁷

As regards the terracottas from Pāṭaliputra, Gordon classified them under two groups.⁷⁸ There are somewhat large heads, one of a childlike appearance of a rather unique character, and the other having a bicorn head dress, and there are almost complete figures with clothing and decoration and poorly proportioned limbs. On an examination of these figures it would appear that with the exception of the child face, these have that round rather 'pug nose' style of face which must be associated with terracottas of the period C 150-50 B.C. There is little doubt that all are really in the same round-faced flat-nosed tradition, and these figurines may be of Mauryan date, though stylistically they appear to be of the Śuṅga period — a decision, however, being in suspense. Ghosh,⁷⁹ in a study of the early Indian terracotta figurines unearthed at Kumrahar, Bulandibagh and Patna University area, suggested that they belonged to the Mauryan period, but those from Taxila and Basarh in the early Indian group were really of the Śuṅga age. N. G. Majumdar⁸⁰ referred to two terracotta human heads and two similar fragmentary specimens found at Buxar in Bihar whose style is typical of the Śuṅga times.

The most beautiful specimen of the terracotta art of the Śuṅga period is at present in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford, notable for its ornamentation and dress. Johnston had suggested⁸¹ with reservation that the figurine represented Māyā who was worshipped in the Gaṅgā valley as Mother Goddess especially associated with fertility — symbolised in the case of this terracotta figurine by fish and 'makara', indicating sexual love. The statuette is not a votive plaque, but was

77. Gordon — *Indian Terracottas* — J.I.S.O.A. 1943 p. 157.

78. *ibid.*, p. 152.

79. *Proc. All India Orient. Conf.* Vol. III. p. 707.

80. *Arch. Rep. Varendra Res. Soc.* 1926-36. p. 1.

81. JISOA. Vol. X. p. 102.



Śrī Mā — Aśunga Terracotta
(Courtesy, Indian Institute, Oxford)

intended to be affixed to a rounded surface, as shown by the curvature of the back and two small holes for nails made with stamps of different varieties. These are some of the specimens of Śuṅga terracotta art which we have considered with particular reference to their important characteristics — technical and stylistic.

Architecture :

During this period there were definite improvements from the architectural point of view. The stūpa at Sāñchī was enlarged to nearly twice its size with replacement of the impermanent wooden railing by the stone one which serves as an impressive production in the range of constructional Buddhist art. The richly carved reliefs depicting scenes from the Jātakas enhanced its architectural and artistic value. Such railings are noticed at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā as well. The toraṇa or gateway was also erected at Bhārhut during this period; but much more important architectural contributions of this period are the rock-cut *chaityas* and *vihāras* which were hewn out in the sylvan hills of the western ghats. The Śuṅga monarchs had hardly any hand in it, nor did their empire extend as far as that region, but one can hardly deny that the quarry-men with their hammers and chisels were bristling with activity, catering for the need of the Buddhist monks during this period.

The architectural formation in these rock-cut retreats was the monastery proper with an arrangement for the accommodation of monks in the *vihāra* — a square central hall entered by a doorway, in front of which was a vestibule, portico or verandah. The doorway entered into square cells carried still further into the rock, which were the abode of monks. The style of architecture employed in the rock-cut monasteries was a reproduction of the then existing structural originals of such wooden buildings. Even the details relating to the joints or fastening of constructions were copied, and the earlier rock work was supplemented by a good amount of wooden construction attached to its surface. Of the two structures — the *chaitya* was more important than the *vihāra*, with its apsidal end, colonnades and ribs at the top. The stūpa carved out

of the rock assumed a prominent place near the end, and was plain except for the railing carved and the *harmikā* with the parasol. The Hīnayāna rock-cut temples belonging to this period are at Bhaja, Koṇḍana, Pitalkhora, Ajantā (No. 10), Bedsa and Ajantā (9) Nāsik and Kārle, probably carved out in this order and definitely before the Christian era, though it is suggested⁸² that the first four were cut out in the second century and the remainder in the first century B.C.

The rock-cut architecture of Orissa belonging to the second century B.C., consists of a collection of chambers which were meant for Jain monks. There are no *chaitya* halls but only cellular retreats akin to those *vihāras* of the western ghats. The famous Hāthīgumphā inscription of the time of King Khāravela suggests its excavation earlier than his period. According to Percy Brown,⁸³ all the excavations of the Orissan group appear to have been made in the 150 years previous to the Christian era, after which the production ceased, although on the Khaṇḍagiri hill a short revival took place as late as the mediaeval period when a few Jain cells were added. These Orissan group caves imply an independent development little in common with any other rock-cut architecture. The Rānīgumphā provides the characteristic features of the architectural treatment in the Orissan cave temples. Percy Brown noticed⁸⁴ in the design of the pillars supporting the verandahs and the pilaster of the mural arcadings two traditions — one of indigenous origin derived from a wooden prototype and the other noticed in the pilasters on the walls with their capitals formed of addorsed animals, which represent according to him the debased descendants of the Persepolitan order. In spite of this classical motif, as suggested by Brown, there is much in the decorative nature of the arches to connect it with the early structural art of the country.

(ii) Town Architectural Plan :

The city architectural plan is also noticeable in the sculp-

82. *Indian Architecture* — p. 24 f.

83. *ibid.* p. 36.

84. *ibid.* p. 37.

tures at Bhārhut and Sāñchī which definitely suggest some model on which the houses with special reference to the palaces were built. Coomaraswamy made a special study of this aspect of architecture on the basis of the sculptural scenes depicting dwellings especially the *prāsādas*, and the literary evidence furnished by the Jātakas and other Pālī literature.⁸⁵ The term *pāsāda* (*prāsāda*) designated a mansion typically of several stories, though it often denoted a palace or other pretentious dwelling. On the Bhārhut bas-reliefs one notices two types of buildings—the domed and the round in plan, the second being barrel-roofed and sometimes three storey high. The Vaijayanta *Prāsāda*, the palace of the Devas in the *Trayastrimśa* heaven, is depicted as a three storied building,⁸⁶ the highest in the sculptures. The basement story is an open pillared hall, the lower third of its height being closed by a Buddhist railing. The building is divided horizontally into three portions. The lower third of the second storey is also closed by a Buddhist railing, above which rise three arched openings, one on each section of the building. A broad band above these, probably of mouldings, runs the whole width of the temple. The third storey also has a Buddhist railing above which are two arched openings. The roof is not displayed.

The *Kuṭī* in the two specimens—Gandha and Kosamba is a single-storied building enclosing an altar or throne with a garland hanging over it. It has an arched doorway, surmounted by a second arch like hood moulding. The door of the *Kosamba kuṭī* is a dome with a small pinnacle on the top, but that of the *Gandha kuṭī* has gable ends with a pinnacle at each end.⁸⁷

The same arched door, with its semi-circular hood moulding and the same doomed roof is also noticeable in a building of similar outline. It appears to be an open-pillared hall with a throne in the middle, canopied by an umbrella hung with garlands.⁸⁸ The *punyaśālā* or religious house also offers an

85. *Eastern Art Annual*—1931. Vol. III.

86. Cunningham—op. cit. p. 118.

87. Barua—op. cit.

88. Cunningham—op. cit. Pl. XVI. fig. 1.

interesting piece of study. That of Pasenajita is a two-storied building enshrining the '*Dharmachakra*'. The lower storey is an open pillared hall standing on a plinth or basement ornamented with a Buddhist railing. The upper storey is divided into three portions, the middle one being slightly retired. There are arched windows covered with semi-circular hood-mouldings and the wall of the central portion is ornamented with a Buddhist railing up to the springing of the hood-moulding. The semi-cylindrical domed roof with two gable ends, and a line of eight small pinnacles springs from this level.

Cunningham also referred⁸⁹ to the canopies, thrones, and ascetic hermitages; but there is one uniform pattern consisting of a long room, with either a pointed or a semi-cylindrical domed roof and a small opening in each gable to give air and light. The ends of the longitudinal timbers are shown in the gables, leaving little doubt about the thatching of the roof. At Sāñchī, since the scenes depicting the architectural side are carved on *toranas* of the later period, they cannot be associated with the Śuṅga period, though the same type continued in later times as well. A survey of the scenes with buildings of two or three storeys, as pointed out by Smith⁹⁰ accords with the colourful description of the splendours of such towns of ancient Indian, as Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra. Civil architecture is described in the Jātakas as well.

We have considered art and architecture of the Śuṅga period with particular reference to Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Bodh-Gayā and Mathurā. While much has been written on these centres of art, and there is hardly anything new by way of presentation, we have confined ourselves to certain important sculptures of this period. The contribution of this age in the realm of art and architecture is not negligible. The art may be lacking in stupendous productions, but it is very rich from the stylistic and subjective standpoints. It is no longer confined to the royal palace or the pillars of Aśoka, but is more democratic. The subject matter is, no doubt, the life of the Tathāgata and scenes from Jātaka stories relating to his previous births. Here we notice lay devotees trying to give evidence of their

89. *ibid.* p. 122.

90. *op. cit.* Pl. 13(a).

bhakti and devotion towards the Lord, irrespective of their status. The famous sculptures carved on the gateways at Bhārhut, and the railings at Sāñchī and Bodh-Gayā which were set up during this period, are some of the best specimens of Indian art. The critic may notice some defect, particularly too many scenes in too little a space, but he can hardly be oblivious of the difficulties and the limitations imposed on the sculptor. The sudden change from wood to stone is another factor which cannot be lost sight of, and, if the carver could be equally proficient in his new setting, then certainly it is meritorious. The human form un-noticed in the Mauryan period is in alignment with nature and isolated objects are in full rhythm. The two important centres, Bhārhut and Sāñchī, have much in common, but there are differences based on separate traditions and methods. Marshall drew distinction with particular reference to restrained mannerism, pleasing affectation and dignified stylishness in Bhārhut sculptures, but that is not a proof to the posterior character of Bhārhut sculptures which is more impressive. The early school of Mathurā notable for the Yaksha statues may have been the principal centre from where art diffused, but the influence of local traditions was not less, with the result that the two schools of Bhārhut and Sāñchī were independent of each other, though both of them had to rely on certain guiding principles obtained through a synthesis, based on mental visualization and abstraction. We have considered the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar as well with a view to tracing foreign influence on Indian art in that period, since it was set up by a foreigner. One may keep an open mind on this particular aspect. We have also taken into account the terracotta figurines which have, of late, assumed great importance. The differences have been pointed out, and during this period moulds were used after an original model was first prepared. Here we have taken into account only some of the best terracotta figurines. Lastly, we also considered the architectural contribution of this period with reference to the encasing of the Sāñchī stūpa, the setting up of railings at different centres and the *torāṇa* at Bhārhut. Even though the Śuṅgas had no hand in the cave temples of the Western Ghats, and in Orissa, the early specimens were

excavated during this period. The sculptures also furnish evidence of the town architectural plan, which is an interesting study. On the whole, we can conclude that, despite the disturbance and turmoil caused by the two foreign invasions during this period, the activities on the speculative and materialistic sides were not repressed and the contribution of this period is fairly notable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Sources, and Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit works quoted in the
Dissertation)

- Aitareya Brāhmana .. Ed. by Th. Aufrecht. Bonn, 1879.
Aitareya Āraṇyaka .. Ed. with a translation by A. B. Keith,
Oxford 1909.
Anguttara Nikāya .. Ed. Richard Morris and Edmund Hardy,
P.T.S. London, 1885-1900.
Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya .. Ed. by R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1909.
" .. Translation by the same, Mysore, 1923.
Āpastambīya Dharma Sūtra .. Ed. by G. Bühler, Bombay, 1868 and 1872.
Āpastambīya Grihya Sūtra .. Ed. by M. Winternitz, Vienna 1887.
Āśvalāyana Grihya Sūtra .. Ed. by A. F. Stenzler, Leipzig 1864.
Aśvaghosha : Buddhacharita : .. Ed. by E. B. Cowell, Oxford 1893.
" .. Ed. by E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1935.
" .. Translation by the same, Calcutta, 1936.
" Saundarananda .. Ed. by E. H. Johnston, Lahore, 1928.
" .. Translation by the same, Oxford, 1932.
Atharvaveda Samhitā .. Text. Ed. by R. Roth and W. D. Whitney,
Berlin, 1856.
Atharvaveda Samhitā and
Pada text, with Sāyaṇa's
Commentary .. Ed. by Shankar P. Pandit, Bombay, 1895-8.
" .. Translation by R. T. H. Griffith, Benaras,
1897.
" .. Translation by W. D. Whitney (with addi-
tions by C. R. Lanman) Cambridge, Mass.
U.S.A., 1906.
" .. Translation in part, by M. Bloomfield,
Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLII,
Oxford, 1897.
Bāṇa : Harshacharita .. Ed. by Pandurang Pandit edition 3rd
Bombay, 1912.
" .. Translation by E. B. Cowell and F. W.
Thomas—Oriental translation, Royal Asiatic
Society, London, 1897.
Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra .. Ed. by E. Hultzsch, Leipzig, 1884.
Bhagavadgītā .. With Saṅkarabhāṣya. Edited by Kāśinātha
Sāstrī. (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series)
Bombay, 1896.

Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita :	Edited and translated into English by S. C.
Siddhānta Kaumudī ..	Vasu and V. D. Basu, Allahabad, 1904-07.
" "	.. Edited with a commentary by Tārānātha
" "	Tārakavāchaspati, Calcutta, 1863-64.
" "	.. Edited by Kāśinātha Sarman, Bombay,
" "	1885.
„ Śabdakaustubha ..	Edited and revised by Ramakrishna Śāstri,
	Benares 1898-99.
Brihadāranyaka Upanishad ..	Ed. with translation by O. Böhtlingk,
	Leipzig, 1889.
Chāndogya Upanishad ..	Ed. with translation by O. Böhtlingk,
	Leipzig, 1889.
Dhammapada — Commentary	Ed. by H. C. Norman, P.T.S. London,
	1906-14.
Digha Nikāya ..	Ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E.
	Carpenter (P.T.S. London, 1890-1911.
Divyāvadāna ..	Ed. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cam-
	bridge, 1896.
Gautama Dharmasāstra	
(Sūtra) ..	Ed. by Stenzler, London, 1876.
Gopatha Brāhmaṇa ..	Ed. by Rajendralala Mitra and H. Vidya-
	bhushana, Calcutta, 1872.
Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa ..	Ed. by W. Caland, Amsterdam 1919.
Jātakas ..	Ed. by Fausboll, London, 1877-97.
" ..	Translated by various hands under the
	editorship of E. B. Cowell, Cambridge,
	1895-1913.
Kālidāsa : Mālavikāgnimitra:	S. Seshadri Ayyar edition, 1896.
" "	.. Translation by C. D. Tawney, Second
	Edition, Calcutta, 1899.
" Meghadūta ..	G. R. Nandargikar edition, 1924.
Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana ..	With the Commentary of Yaśodhara by
	G. D. Śāstri (Kāśī Sansk. Series), Benares
	1929.
Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra ..	Ed. by A. Weber, The White Yajur-veda,
	Vol. III.
Lalita-vistara ..	Ed. by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1877.
" ..	Translation by the same.
" ..	Ed. by S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902-8.
" ..	German translation (I-V) by the same.
Mahābhārata ..	Calcutta, 1834 edition, Vols. I-IV.
" ..	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
	Poona, 1933.
Mahāvastu ..	Ed. by E. Senart, Vols. I-III, Paris, 1882-97.
" ..	Translation of Vol. I by J. J. Jones, London,
	1949.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

249

- Majjhima Nikāya .. Ed. by F. V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers, P.T.S. London, 1888-89.
- Mānava Dharmaśāstra .. Ed. by N. N. Mandalik with Commentaries, Bombay, 1886.
- " .. Ed. by J. Jolly, London, 1887.
- " .. Translation by George Bühler, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886.
- Milindapañha .. Ed. by V. Trenckner, London, 1880.
- " .. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XXXV, XXXVI, Oxford, 1890-4.
- Nārada Smṛiti .. Ed. by J. Jolly, Calcutta, 1885.
- Pāṇini .. Pāṇini's Grammatik-von Otto Böhtlingk, Leipzig, 1887.
- " .. Pāṇini's Grammatik, heraus übers, erläutert und mit verschiedenen Indices versehen, von O. Böhtlingk, Leipzig, 1887.
- " .. Der Grammatiker Pāṇini, von F. Kielhorn, Göttingen 1885.
- " .. Ein Beitrag Zur kenntniss der Indischen Literatur und Grammatik-von Bruno Liebich, 1891.
- " .. Pāṇini's eight books of grammatical Sūtras edited with an English translation and Commentary by W. Goonetilleke, Vol. I. pt. I, Bombay, 1882.
- " .. The Aṣṭādhyāyī, translated into English by Śirisachandra Vasu, 7 volumes, Allahabad. 1891-98.
- " .. Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtrapāṭha with gaṇas and vārttikas. Edited by S. C. Sastri (Sri Bala-manorama Series 2) Trichinopoly, 1912.
- " .. De grammaire de Pāṇini, trans. par L. Renou, Paris, 1947.
- " .. Pāṇini's acht Bücher grammatiseher Regeln, Heraus, und erläutert von O. Böhtlingk, Bd. 1, 2, Bonn, 1839-40.
- " .. Von. O. Böhtlingk, with translation by Sir Monier-Williams.
- " .. Konkordanz, Pāṇini-Candra, von. B. Liebich, Breslau, 1928.
- " .. Concordance, Pāṇini-Patañjali, by P. C. Lahiri.
- " .. Word Index to Pāṇini-Sūtrapāṭha and Paṇīśiṣṭas by Śrīdhar Pāṭhak, Poona, 1935.
- " .. Edited by Bālaśāstrī, Benares, 2nd edition, 1898.
- " Kāśikā

Pāṇini Kāśikā	..	Commentary added by Bhagavat Prasad Tripathi, Benares, 1890.
" "	..	Zwei Kapitel der Kāśikā, von. B. Liebich, Breslau 1892.
" "	..	Kāśikā Commentary, Ed. by A. S. Phadake (Kasi Sansk. Series 37) Benares 1931.
Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra	..	Ed. by A. G. Stenzler, Leipzig, 1876.
Patañjali	..	The Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣhya Edited by F. Kielhorn, Vols. 1-3. (Bombay Sansk. Series) Bombay, 1892-1909.
"	..	The Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣhya with Kaiyaṭa's Bhāṣhya-pradīpa and occasional notes compiled by Raja-rama Sastri, 5 volumes, Benares, 1871.
"	..	Mahābhāṣhya Pradīpodyota by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, Edited by Pandit Bāhuvallabha Sastri, Vols. 1-3, Calcutta, 1901-09.
"	..	Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣhya with Bhāṣhyapradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and Bhāṣhyapradīpodyota of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. Edited by J. R. Ballantyne, Vol. I, Mirzapur 1855-6.
"	..	Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣhya with Bhāṣhyapradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and Bhāṣhyapradīpodyota of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. Edited by J. R. Ballantyne, Vol. 4. 1. with Commentary, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1938.
"	..	Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣhya with Bhāṣhyapradīpa and Bhāṣhyapradīpodyota, Reproduced by Photo-lithography, under the Supervision of T. H. Goldstucker, Vols. 1-3, London, 1874.
"	..	Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣhya with Bhāṣhyapradīpa and Bhāṣhyapradīpodyota. Edited by Śivadatta, D. Dudala, Vols. 1, 2. Bombay, 1932-5.
"	..	Die ersten fünf āhnikas des Mahābhāṣhyam übers und erklärt von V. Trapp, Leipzig, 1933.
"	..	Word Index to Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣhya, Compiled by Sridhar Sastri Pathak and Siddhesvara Sastri, Poona, 1927.
" Nidana-Sūtra	..	Edited by K. C. Bhatnagar, Lahore, 1939.
" Yoga-Sūtra	..	Edited with Commentaries by D. Sastri (Kasi Sansk. Series), Benares, 1930.
Patañjali-Charita of Rāmabhadra Dikshita	..	Edited by Pandit Śivadatta and Kāśināth Pandurang Parab (Kāvyamālā 51) Bombay, 1895.

- Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgojibhaṭṭa .. Edited, explained and translated by F. Kielhorn. (Bombay Sansk. Series No. 299) Bombay, 1868-73.
- Purāṇa — Bhāgavata .. Gaṇpatkrishnaji Press, Bombay, 1889 edition. Par E. Burnouf. Paris, 1840-98.
- „ Brahmanḍa .. Sri Venkateshvara Press, Bombay, 1906 edition.
- „ Mārkaṇḍeya .. Edited by K. M. Banerjea (Bibl. Ind.) Calcutta 1865-82.
- „ „ .. Translated with Notes by F. E. Pargiter. Calcutta, 1888-1904.
- „ Matysa .. Ānandāśrama, Poona 1907 edition.
- „ Padma .. Edited by Visvanath Narayan Mandalik.
- „ „ .. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona 1893-4.
- „ Vāyu .. The Ānandāśrama Poona 1905 edition.
- „ Viṣṇu .. Translated by H. H. Wilson, London, 1840.
- „ „ .. Edited by Fitzedward Hall, London, 1865-70.
- Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa .. Edited by Aurel Stein, Bombay, 1892. Translated by the same, Westminster, 1900. Translated by R. S. Pandit, Allahabad, 1936.
- Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki .. Kāśināth Pāndurang Parab edition, Bombay, 1888. Translated by R. T. Griffith, London, 1870.
- Rigveda-Saṁhitā and Pada text with Śāyana's Commentary .. Edited by F. Max Muller, 2nd edition, 1890-2
- „ .. Saṁhitā text. Edited by Th. Aufrecht, 2nd edition, Bonn, 1877.
- „ .. Translation by H. Grassmann, Leipzig, 1876-7.
- „ .. Translation by R. T. Griffith, Benares, 1896-7.
- „ .. Translation by Max Muller, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXII, Oxford, 1891.
- „ .. Translation by H. H. Wilson, Vols. I-VI, London, 1866-1888.
- Sāṅkhāyana Grihya-Sūtra .. Edited by Hermann Oldenberg in Indische Studien, Vol. XV, pp. 13 f.
- Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha .. by Madhvāchārya.
- „ .. Translation by E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, London, 1882.
- Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa .. Edited by A. Weber, London, 1855.
- „ „ .. Translation by J. Eggeling, Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV. Oxford, 1882-1900.

Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa	..	Edited by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1855-70.
Udāna	..	Edited by P. Steinthal, P.T.S. London, 1885.
"	..	Translation by D. M. Strong, London, 1902.
Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra	..	Edited by J. Carpenter, Upsala, 1921.
"	..	Translated by H. Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLV.
Vākyapadiya of Bhartṛhari	..	With a Commentary by Puṇyārāja, edited by Gangadhar Sastri, Benares, 1887.
Vararuchi Saṃgraha	..	Edited by T. Ganapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum Sansk. Series, No. 33.
Vāsishṭha Dharma-Sūtra	..	Edited by A. Führer, Bombay, 1883.
"	..	Translation—Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIV.
Vinaya	..	Edited by H. Oldenberg, London, 1879-83.
"	..	Texts—Translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East Vols. XIII, XVII, XX, Oxford, 1881-85.
Yājñavalkya Dharma Śāstra	..	Edited by Stenzler, Berlin, 1849. (Mitākshara, Bombay, 1909).
"	..	Smṛiti—edited by Harinārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sansk. Series, Poona, 1903.
"	..	Called the Mitākshara; Part I, Translated by S. C. Vasu, Allahabad, 1907.
Yajurveda	..	Taittirīya Saṃhitā—edited by A. Weber, Indische Studien, XI and XII. Berlin, 1871-2.
"	..	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā—edited by Von Schroeder, Leipzig, 1881-6.
"	..	Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā with Mahīdhara's Commentary, edited by A. Weber, London, 1852.
"	..	Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā with Mahīdhara's commentary, Translation by T. H. Griffith, Benares, 1899.
"	..	Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā with Mahīdhara's commentary, Translation by A. B. Keith, Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
Yāska	..	Nirukta with Commentaries, edited by P. Satyavrata Śāmasrami, Calcutta, 1882.
"	..	Nirukta—The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta. Translation with Commentary by Lakshmana Sarup, Oxford, 1920.

LEXICONS AND ATLAS

- Abhidhānachintāmaṇi of Hemachandra .. Edition, Von. O. Böhtlingk und C. Rieu, St. Petersburg, 1847.
- Amarakoṣa .. Edited with notes by P. Sivadatta, Bombay, 1889.
- Böhtlingk und Roth .. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, Vols. 1-7, St. Petersburg, 1855-75.
- Monier-Williams .. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899.
- Rhys Davids and Stede ... Pali-English Dictionary, 1921-1925.
- Imperial Gazetteer of India .. Vol. XXVI. Atlas.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY — GENERAL

- Agrawala, V. S. .. Agriculture, as known to Pāṇini, JUPHS, Vols. XIII, pp. 1f.
- " .. Coins as known to Pāṇini, JUPHS, Vol. XI, pp. 1f.
- " .. A Further note on Coins from Pāṇini, JUPHS, Vol. XII, pp. 32 f.
- " .. also Nāg Prā. Pat (in Hindi) Xliii (N.S. XIX) pp. 375 f.
- " .. Food and Drink in Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, JGJI, Vol. IV, pp. 11 f.
- " .. Geographical Data in Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī JUPH, Vol. XVI, pp.
- " .. Guide to the Lucknow Museum Archaeological Section, Lucknow, 1940.
- " .. Guide to the Mathurā Museum, Lucknow, 1939
- " .. Mathurā Terracottas JUPHS, Vol. IX, pt. II, pp. 6 f.
- " .. A New Pañchala coin of Prajñāpatimitra JNSI, Vol. III, p. 79.
- " .. Pre-Kushāṇa Art of Mathurā, JUPHS, Vol. VI, pp. 81 f.
- " .. India as known to Pāṇini, Lucknow 1953.
- Aiyar, K. G. Sankara .. The Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravēla, IA. Vol. XLIX, pp. 43. f.
- Allar, J. .. Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India, London, 1936.

- Altekar, A. S. .. Notes on some new Pañchāla Coins, JNSI, Vol. IV, pp. 17-18.
- Bachhofer, Ludwig. .. Early Indian Sculptures, 2 Vols. Paris, 1929.
- Bagchi, P. C. .. Krimīśa and Demetrius, IHQ, Vol. XXII, pp. 81 f.
- Banerjee Sāstri, A. .. Patañjali and Bhāsa, JBORS, Vol. IX, pp. 71 f.
- " .. The Asuras (Reference of Pre-Patañjali tradition), JBORS, Vol. XII, p. 128 f.
- Banerjee, R. D. .. Note on the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, JBORS, Vol. III, pp. 486 f.
- Barnett, L. D. .. Antiquities of India, London, 1913.
- Barua, B. M. .. Bhārhut, 3 volumes, Calcutta.
- " .. Bhārhut Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum. A few suggestions, JUPHS, Vol. XIX, pp. 48 f.
- " .. Old Brāhmī inscriptions in the Udaigiri and Khaṇdagiri Caves, Calcutta, 1929.
- Beal, Samuel .. Buddhist Records of the Western World, London, 1884.
- Belvalkar, S. K. .. Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, Poona, 1915.
- Bhagwanlal Indraji .. The Hāthigumphā and Three other inscriptions in the Udaigiri caves. Actes du Sixieme Internationale Congress des Orientalistes. Part III, Sec. II, 152, Leyden.
- Bhandarkar, D. R. .. Ājivikās, IA, Vol. XLI, pp. 286 f.
- " .. Ancient Indian Numismatics, Carmichael lectures.
- " .. Excavations at Besnagar, ASI. An. Rep. 1913-14 pp. 186 f.
- " .. Notes on the Ancient History of India, 'Saka-Yavana' IC, Vol. I, pp. 275 f.
- Bhandarkar, R. G. .. Allusions to Kṛishṇa in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, IA, Vol. III, pp. 14 f.
- " .. Early History of the Deccan, Bombay, 1895.
- " .. On the Date of Patañjali and the King in whose reign he lived, IA, Vol. I, pp. 299 f.
- " .. Note on a letter by Professor A. Weber, IA, Vol. II, pp. 59 f.
- " .. Patañjali's Mahābhāshya, IA, Vol. II, pp. 69 f.
- " .. On the Interpretation of Patañjali, IA, Vol. II, pp. 94 f.
- " .. Reply to Professor Weber, IA, Vol. II, pp. 238 f.
- " .. The Maurya Passage in the Mahābhāshya IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 156 f.

- Bhandarkar, R. G. .. A Supplementary Note on the Maurya Passage in the Mahābhāṣya, IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 172 f.
- " .. Note on the Date of Patañjali (A reply to Peterson), JBBRAS. Vol. XVI, pp. 199 f.
- " .. Pāṇini and the Geography of Afghanistan and the Panjab. IA. Vol. I, pp. 1 f.
- " .. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems (Grundriss Series) Strassburg, 1913.
- Bhasyacarya, N. .. The Age of Patañjali, Adyar, 1889.
- Bhattacharya, Tarapada .. The Śuṅga Dynasty, JBORS. Vol. XXXV, pp. 47 f.
- Bhattacharya, U. C. .. The evidence of Pāṇini on Vāsudeva worship, IHQ. Vol. I, pp. 483 f; Vol. II, pp. 186; 864 f.
- Bose, Girindrasekhara .. Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology, JRASB. Letters, Vol. V. 1939, pp. 1 f.
- Brown, Percy .. Indian Architecture (Buddhist—Hindu Periods) Bombay, 1948.
- Buhler, J. G. .. Sāñchi Votive Inscriptions, EI. Vol. II, pp. 88 f.
- " .. The roots of the Dhātu Pāṭha not found in Literature (Reference to Patañjali and his date), IA. Vol. XXIII, pp. 141, 250.
- Carlleye, A. C. .. Coins of the Śuṅga or Mitra Dynasty, JASB. 1880 pp. 21 f.
- Chakladhar, H. C. .. Eastern India and Āryāvarta, IHQ. Vol. IV, pp. 81 f.
- Chakravartty, P. C. .. The Mahābhāṣya—English translation. Adhyāya I, Āhnika I, IHQ. Vol. I, pp. 703 f.
- " .. Patañjali as he reveals himself in his Mahābhāṣya IHQ. Vol. II, pp. 67 f; 262 f; 464 f; 738 f.
- " .. The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar, Calcutta, 1930.
- Chanda, R. P. .. Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava tradition (Memoirs Arch. Sur. Ind. No. 5).
- " .. Date of Khāravela, IA. Vol. XLVIII, pp. 214 f.
- " .. Pushyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire, IHQ. Vol. V, pp. 393 f; 587 f.
- " .. The Mathurā School of Sculpture, ASI. An. Rep. 1922-3 pp. 164 f.
- Chandradhar Guleri .. On Śiva Bhāgavata in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, IA. Vol. XLI, p. 272.
- Charpentier, J. .. Ājivikas, JRAS. 1913 pp. 689 f.

- Charpentier, J. .. The date of Mahāvira IA. Vol. XLIII, pp. 167 f.
- Chattopadhyaya, K. C. .. Patañjali and his knowledge of Science, IHQ. Vol. III, pp. 181 f.
- Codrington, K. D. .. Some Indian Terracotta Figurines, IA. Vol. LX, pp. 141 f.
- Colebrooke .. Indian Weights and Measures, Trans. ASB, 1801, pp. 95 f.
- Coomaraswamy, Anand, K. .. Ancient Archaic Terracottas, Leipzig, 1928.
- " .. Early Indian Architecture, Philadelphia, 1931.
- " .. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London, 1927.
- " .. La Sculpture de Bodhgaya, Paris, 1935.
- " .. Yakshas, Washington, 1928-31.
- Cunningham, Alexander .. Ancient Geography of India, London, 1871. Re-edited with notes and Introduction by S. N. Majumdar Śāstrī, Calcutta, 1924.
- " .. Archaeological Survey Reports. Vol. I, pp. 301 f; III. pp. 14 f; VI. pp. 165, 174; X. p. 94, pl. II; XIV. p. 149, pl. XXXI. Simla,
- " .. Bhilsa Tope, London, 1854.
- " .. Mahābodhi, London, 1892.
- " .. The Stūpa of Bhārhut, London 1879.
- Damielsson .. Die einleitung des Mahābhāshya ZDMG, Vol. 37, pp. 20 f.
- Dar, M. B. L. .. Some rare Pañchala coins from the site of Ancient Ahicchatra, JNSI, Vol. II, pp. 115 f.
- Das, Rai Krishna .. A Vāsavadattā — Udayara Terracotta Plaque from Kauśāmbī, JUPHS. Vol. XVIII, pp. 82 f.
- Dasgupta, C. C. .. Ancient Coins found in Pañchāla, Ayodhya, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā — A Study, IHQ. Vol. VIII, pp. 54 f.
- " .. Bibliography of Ancient Indian Terracottas, JASB Vol. IV. 1938, pp. 67 f.
- Dasgupta, N. N. .. Pāṇini and the Yavanas; IC. Vol. II, pp. 355 f.
- Dasgupta, S. N. .. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1922.
- " .. Yoga System in relation to other systems of Indian thought (Reviewed by L. D. Barnett, JRAS, 1932 p. 417).
- Dasgupta, S. N. and De, S. K. .. History of Sanskrit Literature, Calcutta 1947.

- Dey, S. K. .. The Akhyāyikā and the Kathā in Classical Sanskrit, BSOS., Vol. III, pp. 507 f.
- Dey, N. L. .. Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, London, 1920.
- Dhruva, K. H. .. Yuga Purāṇa Chapter in the Gargi Samhita, JBORS, Vol. XVI, pp. 18 f.
- Dubrevil, Jouveau, G. .. Ancient History of the Deccan (translated by V. S. Swaminand Dikshitar), Pondicherry, 1920.
- Durga Prasad .. Classification and significance of the Symbols on the silver punch-marked coins of Ancient India, JASB. Vol. 30, 1934. Numismatic Supplement, No. XLV, pp. 5 f.
- " .. Observation of different types of silver punch-marked coins, their periods and locale, JASB Vols. 3-4, 1937-8. Numismatic Supplement No. XLVII, pp. 51 f.
- Faddegon, Barend .. Studies on Pāṇini's Grammar, Amsterdam, 1936.
- Fergusson, J. .. Tree and Serpent worship, London, 1873.
- Fleet, J. F. .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III, Calcutta, 1888.
- " .. Review of Archaeological Survey of India, Annual report 1905-6. JRAS., 1910 pp. 242 f.
- " .. The Hāthigumphā Inscription JRAS., 1910 pp. 824 f.
- " .. The Topographical List of the Brihatsamhitā IA. Vol. XXII, pp. 113 f.
- Foucher, A. .. L'art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra tome I, Paris, 1905.
- " .. On an old Bas-relief in the Museum at Mathurā, JBORS. Vol. VI, pp. 470 f.
- Führer, A. .. On the Prabhāsa Inscriptions, EI. Vol. II, pp. 243 f.
- Gardner, Percy .. Catalogue of Indian Coins, (Greek and Scythic Kings), London, 1886.
- Geiger, W. .. Āchārya, the friend of the student and the relation between the three Āchāryas, IA. Vol. V, pp. 345 f.
- " .. Mahābhāshya Zu Pāṇini VI. 4. 22 und 132. SWA. 160, 1908, pp. 81 f.
- Ghosh, A. .. A study of the Smṛiti passages in the Mahābhāshya, IHQ. Vol. XI. pp. 77 f.
- Ghosh, N. N. .. Did Pushyamitra Śuṅga persecute the Buddhists? Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. 1943 (1944) pp. 109 f; cf. Law Vol. I. 1945 pp. 210 f.

- Ghosh, N. N. .. References to the Yavana Invasions, JGJI. IV. pt. 1, 1946, pp. 44 f.
- Goldstucker, I. .. Pāṇini, his place in Sanskrit literature.
- Gordan, D. H. .. Early Indian Terracottas, JISOA. Vol. XI. 1943, pp. 136 f.
- Growse, F. S. .. Mathurā, 3rd edition, 1883.
- Gupta, R. K. .. A Historical investigation on Pāṇini together with a brief account of Kātyāyana and Patañjali (in Bengali) Calcutta, 1875.
- Hannes, Skold .. The relative Chronology of Pāṇini and the Prātisākhya, IA. Vol. LV. pp. 181 f.
- Hazra, R. C. .. Pre-Pauranic Hindu Society before 200 A.D., IHQ. Vol. XV. pp. 403 f.
- Hillebrandt, A. F. Alfred .. Hindu Worship, ERE. Vol. XII, pp. 795 f.
- " .. Zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas, ZDMG. Vol. LXXII. pp. 227 f.
- Hiriyanna, M. .. First Commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, IHQ. Vol. II. pp. 415-6.
- Hultsch, E. .. The Śuṅga Inscription of the Bhārhut Stūpa, IA. Vol. XIV. pp. 138.
- " .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. I. Oxford, 1925.
- Jacob, G. A. .. Popular Maxims, Series I-III, Bombay, 1900-1904.
- Jacobi, H. .. Reference to the identity of two Patañjalis, JAOS. Vol. XXXI. pp. 25 f.
- Jayaswal, K. P. .. The Hāthīgumphā Inscription JBORS Vol. III, pp. 425 f, Vol. XIII. pp. 221 f. Vol. VI. pp. 364 f.
- " .. Historical Data in the Gārgisamhitā and the Brahmin Empire, JBORS Vol. XIV. pp. 399 f.
- " .. On the rule of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, JBORS. Vol. XV. pp. 583 f.
- " .. Some coins of the Mauryas and Śuṅgas, JRAS. 1935, pp. 78 f.
- Johnston, E. H. .. Demetrius in Sind, JRAS. 1939, pp. 229 f.
- " .. A Terracotta Figure at Oxford, JISOA Vol. X. pp. 94 f.
- Kala, S. C. .. Bhārhut Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum, JUPHS. Vol. XVIII. pp. 91 f.
- " .. Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum, Allahabad, 1945.
- Kane, P. V. .. History of Hindu Dharma Śāstras. Vols. I-III. Poona 1930.
- Keith, A. B. .. Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakṛit Manu-

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY — GENERAL

259

- Keith, A. B. .. scripts in the India Office Library, 1935, p. 243.
- " .. History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford, 1928.
- " .. Problems of Indian Philosophy, IHQ. Vol. VIII. pp. 426 f.
- " .. Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, HOS. Vols. 31-32.
- " .. Sanskrit Drama, Oxford, 1924.
- " .. The Child Krishna, JRAS. 1908 pp. 169 f.
- " .. The Śaubbhika and the Indian Drama, BSOS, Vol. IV. pp. 27 f.
- " .. The Vedic Ākhyāna and the Indian Drama, JRAS. 1911 pp. 979 f.
- Kern, H. .. Manual of Indian Buddhism, (Grundriss Series), Strassburg, 1896.
- Kielhorn, Franz. .. Jūnāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman in the year 72 EI. Vol. VIII. 1905-6 pp. 36 f.
- " .. Kātyāyana and Patañjali, their relation to each other and Pāṇini, Bombay, 1876.
- " .. Notes on the Mahābhāṣya, IA. Vols. XV. pp. 80 f; 203 f. 228 f. XVI. sp. 101 f; 178 f, 244 f.
- " .. On the Mahābhāṣya IA. Vol. V. pp. 241 f.
- " .. Quotations in the Mahābhāṣya and the Kāśikā-Vṛitti IA. Vol. XIV, pp. 326 f.
- " .. Vikrama dates in a Manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya IA. Vol. XVII. pp. 328 f.
- Korow, Sten. .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II pt. I. Delhi, 1929.
- " .. Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription of the year 28, EI. Vol. XXI, pp. 55 f.
- " .. Notes on the Śakas IG. Vol. II. pp. 189 f.
- " .. Some problems raised by the Khāravēla Inscription, AO. Vol. I. pp. 21 f.
- Lake, H. H. .. Besnagar JBBRAS Vol. XXIII. pp. 135 f.
- Law, B. C. .. Geography of Early Buddhism, London, 1932.
- " .. Geographical Essays, London, 1937.
- " .. Pañcālas (Mém. Arch. Sur. Ind. No. 67).
- Levi, Sylvain .. Notes indiennes, JA. tome CCVI. pp. 57 f.
- " .. Notes de Chronologie indienne JA. 1891. S. 8. tome XVIII pp. 549 f.
- " .. Le theatre indien, Paris, 1890.
- Liebich, Bruno .. Materialien Zum Dhatupāṭha-Nachwort SHAW 1921, 7 Abhandlung pp. 57 f.
- " .. Zur Einführung in die Indische ein heimis-

- che sprach wissenschaft SHAW. 1919, 4
Abhandlung pp. 1.f.
- Lohuizen-de-Leeuw-J.C.V. .. The Scythian Period, Leiden 1949.
- Lüders, H. .. The era of the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja
Rājātirāja, D. R. Bhandarkar Volume,
pp. 277 f.
- " .. List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from earliest
times to the second century A.D., EI. Vol.
X. Appendix.
- " .. Die Saubhikas Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte
des indischen Dramas, SBAW Berlin, 1916,
pp. 698 f.
- Macay, E. J. H. .. Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro,
Delhi, 1938.
- Macdonell, A. A. .. A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature,
London, 1913.
- Macdonell, A. A. and
Keith, A. B. .. Vedic Index Vols. I-II, London, 1912.
- Madhavakrishna, Sarma .. Patañjali and his relation to some authors
and works, IC. Vol. XI.
- Majumdar, N. G. .. A New Brāhmī Inscription from Mathurā
IHQ. Vol. II. pp. 441 f.
- Majumdar, R. C. .. Hāthīgumphā Inscription, IA. Vol. XLVII.
pp. 223 f.
- " .. Hāthīgumphā Inscription, Second, note IA.
Vol. XLVIII. pp. 187 f.
- " .. Some observations on Pushyamitra Śuṅga
and his Empire, IHQ Vol. I. pp. 91 f; 214 f.
- " .. Northern India after the fall of the Maurya
Empire, JNSI XXII—1960, H 47 ff.
- Mankad, D. R. .. A critically edited text of the Yuga-Purāṇa
JUPHS Vol. XX, pp. 32 f.
- Marshall, John H. .. Archaeological Exploration in India 1908-9.
JRA.
- " .. Excavations at Taxila, ASI. An. Rep.
1914-15 pp. 1 f.
- " .. Excavations at Taxila, ASI. An. Rep.
1915-16 pp. 1 f.
- " .. A Guide to Sāñchī, Calcutta, 1918.
- " .. A Guide to Taxila, Calcutta, 1918.
- Marshall, John H. and
Foucher, A. .. The Monuments of Sāñchī, Vols. I-III,
Calcutta, 1940.
- Maxmuller, F. A. .. History of Sanskrit Literature, London,
1859.
- McCrindle, J. W. .. Ancient India as described by Megasthenes
and Arrian, Calcutta, 1877, New Edition,
1926.

- McCrindle, J. W. .. Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, Calcutta, 1885.
- " .. Second edition edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri, Calcutta.
- " .. The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea, Calcutta, 1879.
- " .. The Invasion of Alexander the Great, new Edition, Westminster, 1896.
- " .. Ancient India as described in Classical literature, Westminster, 1901.
- Mitra, Rajendralala .. On Goṇikāputra and Gonardiya as names of Patañjali, JASB. Vol. LII, 1883, pp. 261 f.
- " .. Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India, JASB. 1873, pp. 1 f.
- Mookerji, R. K. .. Further Historical Data from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, IC. Vol. II. pp. 362 f.
- " .. History of Sanskrit Literature from the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, IA. Vol. LII. pp. 21 f.
- Mukhopadhyaya, Manmath .. Some notes on the Skanda-Kārttikeya, IHQ. Vol. VII, pp. 309 f.
- Narair, A. K. .. The Indo-Greeks, Oxford, 1957.
- Oldenberg, H. .. Die Religion des Veda, Berlin, 1894.
- Paranjpye, V. G. .. Le vārttika de Kātyāyana, Paris, 1922.
- Pargiter, F. E. .. The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kāli Age, Oxford, 1913.
- " .. Ancient Indian Historical tradition, London, 1922.
- " .. Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology, JRAS. 1901, pp. 1 f.
- " .. Ancient Countries in Eastern India, JASB. 1897 pp. 85 f.
- " .. Early Indian traditional history, JRAS. 1914 pp.
- " .. The Nations of India at the battle between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, JRAS. 1908, pp. 309 f.
- " .. The North Pañcāla Dynasty, JRAS. 1918, pp. 297 f.
- Pathok, K. B. .. On the text and interpretation of some passages in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, An. BORI Vol. XIII. pp. 17 f.
- Patil, D. R. .. Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa, Poona, 1946.
- Peterson, Peter .. Note on the Date of Patañjali, JBGRAS. Vol. XVI, pp. 187 f.

- Peterson, Peter .. Pāṇini and the Age of Classical Sanskrit poetry, JRAS. 1891, pp. 311 f.
- " .. Pāṇini, poet and grammarian, JRAS 1911, p. 3.
- Poussin, de la Vallée .. L'Inde au temps des Mauryas, Paris, 1930.
- " .. Patañjali and the Śakas, IC. Vol. II, pp. 584 f.
- Prāṇāth .. A Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India, London, 1929.
- Przyluski, Jean .. Le légende d'empereur Aśoka, Paris, 1923.
- Puranchand, Samsookha .. A few notes on Pushyamitra Śuṅga and the Śuṅga Empire, IHQ. Vol. VI. pp. 184 f.
- Puri, B. N. .. The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, Bombay, 1957.
- " .. India in the time of Patañjali, 1st edition, Bombay, 1957.
- Rapson, E. J. .. Ancient India, Cambridge, 1914.
- " .. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1922.
- " .. Indian Coins (Gründriss Series), Strassburg, 1898.
- " .. Catalogue of Indian coins (Āndhras and W. Kshatrapas), London, 1908.
- Ray, Niharranjan .. Maurya and Śuṅga Art, Calcutta, 1915.
- Raychaudhari, H. C. .. A note on the Lineage of Pushyamitra, IC. Vol. III, pp. 439 f.
- " .. Political History of Ancient India, Calcutta, 1931.
- " .. Studies in Indian Antiquities, Calcutta, 1932.
- Renou, Louis .. La géographie de Ptolémée. L'Inde (VII. 1-4), Paris, 1925.
- Rivett-Carnac, H. .. Coins of the Śuṅga Dynasty, JASB. 1880, pp. 87 f.
- Sankariyar, K. G. .. The Hāthīgumphā Cave Inscription of Kharavela. IA. Vol. XLIX pp. 43 f.
- Śāstri, Haraprasad .. Dismemberment of the Maurya Empire, JASB. Vol. VI. 1910.
- " .. The Date of Kālidāsa (Reference to Patañjali), JBORS. Vol. II. pp. 323 f.
- " .. Who were the Śuṅgas? JASB. New Series.
- Śāstri, Kailasachandra .. Pāṇini, Patañjali and Pūjyapāda, Jain Siddhanta Bhāskara, Vol. VI. No. 4.
- Schoff, W. H. .. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, London, 1912.
- Shah, M. A. .. Pushyamitra — Who is He? Proceedings of

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY — GENERAL

263

- Shah, M. A. .. Indian Oriental Conference (Madras), Vol. III. pp. 437 f.
- .. The Dates of Patañjali and Vātsyāyana, *ibid* (Allahabad) Vol. IV. pp. 145 f.
- Sircar, D. C. .. Date of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, *IHQ*. Vol. XV, pp. 633 f.
- .. The account of the Yavanas in the Yuga-Pūrāṇa, *JRAS*. 1963, p. 7.
- Smith, V. A. .. Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I., Oxford, 1906.
- .. Early History of India, 4th edition, Oxford, 1924.
- .. History of Fine Art in India, Burma and Ceylon, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1930.
- .. The Jain Stūpa of Mathurā, Allahabad, 1901.
- .. New light on Ancient India, *JRAS*. 1918, pp. 543 f.
- Subramanyam, K. G. .. A Short Note on Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of a Mahābhāṣya passage in his Hindu Polity, *IHQ*. Vol. II, pp. 416 f.
- .. Patañjali and Kāvya Literature preserved by him (Proceedings of the Indian Oriental Conference, Madras) Vol. III, pp. 96 f.
- .. The Vārttikas, *Journal Oriental Institute*, Madras, Vol. II. pp. 25 f.
- Takakusu, J. .. I-tsing, Oxford, 1896.
- Tarn, W. W. .. The Greeks in Bactria and India, Cambridge, 1938.
- Telang, K. T. .. The Rāmāyaṇa older than Patañjali (a note), *IA*. Vol. I, pp. 124 f.
- Thapar, R. .. Aśoka and the decline of the Mauryas, Oxford, 1962.
- Thomas, F. W. .. Abhisheka, *ERE*. Vol. I. pp. 21 f.
- .. Note on the Hāthīgumphā Inscriptions *JRAS*, 1922, pp. 83 f.
- Upādhyāya, Basudeva .. Geographical Data in Pāṇini, *IHQ*. Vol. XII, pp. 51 f.
- Upādhyāya, B. S. .. On the river Sindhu in the Malavikāgnimitra *JBHU*. 1942, pp. 171 ff.
- Vāsudeva Sarma .. Patañjali on Kshudraka — Mālava, *IC*, Vol. I.
- Venkateswara, S. V. .. India in the Second Century B.C., Proceedings of Indian Oriental Conference (Madras), Vol. III, pp. 407 f.
- Vogel, J. Ph. .. Archaeological Exploration in India 1910-11, *JRAS* 1912, pp. 113. f.

- Vogel, J. Ph. .. Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum, Allahabad, 1910.
- " .. La Sculpture de Mathura, Paris, 1930.
- " .. The Mathura School of Sculpture, ASI. An. Rep. 1906-7, pp. 161 f.
- Weber, A. .. On the Date of Patañjali (translated from Indische Studien by the Rev. D. C. Boyd), IA, Vol. II. pp. 61 f.
- " .. On Patañjali etc., IA. Vol. II., pp. 106 f.
- " .. On the Yavanas, Mahābhāshya, Rāmāyaṇa and Krishnajanmashtamī, IA. Vol. IV., pp. 244 f; VI. pp. 301 f.
- " .. Das Mahābhāshya des Patañjali, Indische Studien, Vol. 13 pp. 292 f.
- Wijesekera, O. h. De. .. Buddhist Evidence for the early existence of Drama, IHQ. Vol. XVII, pp. 196 f.
- " .. The Date of Patañjali, IHQ. Vol. XVI. pp. 586 f.
- Winternitz, M. .. Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, III Band pp. 387 f.
- " .. A History of Indian Literature, Vols. 1-2, Calcutta, 1923.
- Woods, J. H. .. The Yoga-System of Patañjali, (Harvard Oriental Series, No. XVII).

INDEX

- Agastyas 56.
Abhidhānachintāmaṇi 18, 73
 Abhimanyu 8, 8n, 9, 15.
 Agathocleia 55.
 Abastanoi 73
 Agnimitra 23, 25, 26n, 34, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44.
 Agrawala, V. S.
 on Pāṇini 14, on the identification of some rivers 66n, 67n, 67, on the Trigartas 73n.
 Ahichchatra 79; Pañchāla coins from — 48.
 Allan, J. 40, 43n, 48n, 50, 52, 53
 — on Mathurā rulers as feudatories of the Śuṅgas 53.
 Ambaśṭa 73.
 Amoghabhūti 58.
 Andhraka or Odraka 25, 26n.
 Andhras 58f; original home of the— 22n, 59; early Andhra rulers 59; affinity with the Sātavāhanas 58n.
 Antialcidas 55.
 Apollodotus 30, 31, 34.
 Arjunāyanas 56, 57; their coins 57.
 Art and Architecture 217f; Bhārhut Stūpa, Railing and Torāṇa 218f. Jātaka stories depicted on panels 219f; other scenes 222; Sāñchi Stūpa carvings 223f; Marshall's view on the date of — 223f; relations with Bhārhut 223, 226f; Coomaraswamy's view 228; relations with old Mathurā Art 228; foreign influence on the Sāñchi school 228; Vogel's view 229; Bodh-Gaya 229f; Cunningham's view 229; Marshall's opinion 229; influence of Bhārhut and Sāñchi on sculptures in — 229; foreign influence on — 230; Smith's view 230; Marshall's contention 230; Besnagar column 231; Percy Brown on — 231; Marshall's view on foreign artists in Central India 232; Mathurā 232f; Yaksha statues 233f; Marshall and R. P. Chanda on — 233; Coomaraswamy on the origin of the Yakshas 233; style of the — 234; Śuṅga sculptures on railing pillars at — 234; Foucher on a Jātaka scene 234; Dancing Yakshi 235. Relation of the Mathurā School with that of Bhārhut 235; Statue of Balarama from — 235; Jain Stūpa in — 236; Smith's view on its date 236; Terracottas 236f; Coomaraswamy on early Indian terracottas 237f; Śuṅga terracottas from Kosam, Bhita and Pāṭaliputra 239. Classification of Pāṭalipura — by Gordon 240; Śuṅga Terracotta from Oxford 240; Architecture 241; Rock-cut retreats 241, Town-architecture Plan 242f; A review 244f.
 Āryāvarta 53n, 63, 64; Sishtas of — 3.
 Ashādhasena 44n.
 Aśoka 23.
Ashṭādhyāyī — See Pāṇini.
Āśvalāyana Gṛiha-sūtra 160, 192.
 — *Śrautasūtra* 23.
 Audumbaras 56, name of rulers from coins 57.
 Bagchi, P. C.
 on Krimīśa and Demetrius 30n.
 Bāhikas — See Vāhikas.
 Baimbakas 23, 24, family name of the Śuṅgas 23.
 Banerji, R. D.
 on Dīmīta as Demetrius 33n, on

- Khāravēla's date 38.
 Barnett, L. D.
 on Yājñasena as an Andhra
 feudatory 35.
 Barua, B. M.
 on Demetrium and Dīmīta 33n,
 on Khāravēla 39, on Udāka
 45n, 51.
 Barygaza (Broach) in Menander's
 empire 55.
Baudhayana Śrautara Sūtra 34.
 Belvalkar, S. K.
 on Patañjali 7n.
 Bhadrāghosha — see Ghosha.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa 26.
 Bhagwanlal Indrajī — see Indrajī.
Bhāgavata — *Bhāgavadra* 25, 26n;
 45.
 Bhandarkar, D. R.
 on the conquest of Demetrius
 31n; on the first horse sacrifice
 of Pushyamitra 37n; on Śakas in
 North-west India 53n; on the
 identity of Skanda, Kumāra.
 Viśākha and Mahāsena 171; on
 the Ājivikas 178.
 Bhandarkar, R. G.
 on Patañjali and his time 7, 7n,
 8n, 10, 13n, 15; on Bhakti move-
 ments 172; on the Pāśupatas 177.
 Bhārhuṭ — See under Art and
 Architecture.
 Bhartṛhari — his date 5, on his
 Vākyapadīya 5n, 6n, 8n, 14, 16.
 Bhāsyāchārya, N.
 on Patañjali's date 7, 7n.
 Bhatnagar, K. C. — edited *Nidāna-
 sūtra* 17.
 Bhūmimitra 43n, 46, 47.
 Bodh-Gaya — same as Buddh-Gaya —
 See under Art and Architecture.
 Bohūlingk
 on Patañjali 10.
 Bose, N. S.
 on the Andhras 59n.
 Brachmanoi 74.
 Brahmanaka 74.
Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad 134.
 Brihadratha 27, 33.
 Brihaspatimitra 1 50, 51.
 II 50, 51.
 Buddhism 182f.
 Bühler, G. 38;
 on Jains in Mathurā 183.
 Carnac-Rivett
 on the identity of Pañchāla and
 Śuṅga rulers 43n.
 Chakravārthy, P. C.
 on Patañjali 15, 17n, 20.
 Chanda, R. P.
 on Khāravēla's date 38, 40; on
 Vāsudeva worship 175; on Yaksha
 statues 233.
Chandragupta Maurya 10, 28; date
 of accession of — 28n, 38, *sabhā*
 10, 10n.
 Charpantier — on Khāravēla 38.
 Chaudhury, Ray, H. C. — See Ray-
 chaudhury.
Chūṛṇi 5n, 7.
 Coomaraswamy, A. K.
 on Yaksha worship 181; on
 Sāñchī 228; on the origin of the
 Yakshas 233; on early Indian ter-
 racottas 237.
 Cunningham, A.
 on the Yāvana — Śuṅga clash
 scene 36n; on Kośala coins 48;
 on Pañchāla dynasty 50; on the
 finds of Yaudheya coins 56n; on
 the identification of the Kekaya
 capital 69n; on the identification
 of Trigarta 74; on Bodh-Gaya
 sculptures 228.
 Daishṭikas 179.
Dākṣhiṇputra — an epithet of Pāṇini
 18.
 Daṇḍins 179.
 Daradas 70.
 Daśārṇa 79, 79n.
 Dasgupta, S. N.
 on Patañjali 6n, 7n, 17.

- Dāvikā 66.
 Demetrius 11n, 30, 30n, 31, 32, 33, 37, 54.
 —his conquests 30f, 54.
 Devabhūmi 25, 26n, 27.
 Devabhūti 45, 46n.
 Dey, N. L., 63n, 66, 67.
 Dhanadeva 12, 25, 35.
 Dhruva, A. V. 21n.
Divyāvadāna 23, 24, 25, 36n, 41, 54, 155.
 Drumati 66.
 Dubreuil
 on Khāravela 38.
 Economic Life — 108f; Professions 108; artisan class 108; workers in metal 109; masons and architects 110; domestic servants 110; cooks and confectioners 110; wild professions 111; low professions 111; agriculture and husbandry 112; agricultural holdings 112; preparations and methods of sowing 113; ripening and reaping 114; storing 115; other crops 116; husbandry 116; merchandise 117; trade stipulations 118; articles of trade 119; exchange and barter 121; coinage 112; *nishka*, *śata-māna*, *śāṇa*, *kārshāpaṇa* 123; *māsha* 124; silver and copper Punch-marked coins 125; *vimśatika* and *trimśatika* 126; *rūpa* 126; weights and measures 127; *ādhaka*, *drona*, *khāri*, *pala*, *māsha*, *kārshāpaṇa*, *kuḍava*, *śūrpa* 127; measurements — *aksha*, *pāda*, *aratni*, *prādeśa*, *vitasti* and *dishṭi* 128; labour 129; communications 130; Banking 131; A review 131.
 Educational Life 133f; objects of study 133; subjects of study 135; place and time of study 138; methods of study 139; relations between the preceptor and the pupil 142; different schools named after the teachers 145; *charaṇas* 146; fees and period of study 150; writing 151; female education 151; assemblies 153; A review 153.
 Eggeling 159.
 Eucratides 32, 33, 54, 55; the date of — 55n.
 Euthydemus 33, 54.
 Euthydemia 32, 32n.
 Fergusson, J. — 92.
 Fleet, J. F. 38.
 Foucher, A.
 on a Jātaka scene from Mathurā 234.
 Gandhāra 69.
 Gardner, P. 55n.
 Gautamiputra 45.
 Geographical Information 62f; conception of country 63; Physical Geography 67; Kambuja, Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Kekaya, Sālva 69; Udumbara and Bodha, Dārvyā, Vasata 70; Sindhu-Sauvīra, Vāhika 71; Madra, Uśīnara, Sibi 72; Ambashta, Trigarta 73; Pārasakara, Brāhmaṇaka, Jihṇava 74; Janapadas of the Āryāvarta 74f; Kośala, Kāśī, Magadha 75; Videha and Vrijji, Aṅga and Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma 76; Kalinga, Prāgeśa, Avanti-Kunti 77; Surāshtra 77; Vidarbha 78; Southern Janapadas 78; towns and villages 79; A review 80.
 Ghosh, A.
 on Patañjali and Smritis.
 Ghosh, J. C.
 on the Śuṅgas as Kshatriyas 25n.
 Ghosha 25, 26n, 45.
 Goldstucker.
 on Patañjali 4, 4n, 9, 13n.
Goṇardiya and *Goṇikāputra* — as epithets of Patañjali 18, 18n, 19.
 Gordon D. H.
 on the classification of Pātali-

- putra terracottas 240.
 Hagamāsa 54.
 Hagāna 53.
Harivamśa 24.
Harshacharita 23, 24, 28.
Heliocles 55.
Hillebrandt 159.
 Hushka 8n.
 Huvishka 171.
- Ikshumati 66.
 Ikshvāku — Janapada 74.
 Indo-Greeks — 54f.
 Indrajī, Bhagwan Lal.
 on the inscription of Khāra-
 vela 38.
 I-tsing
 on Bhartṛhari's date 64.
- Jacobi H.
 on two Patañjalis 15.
Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa 67.
 Jainism 183f.
Jānakiharṇa 178.
 Jayakeśin II, 18
 Jayaswal, K. P.
 on Khāravala and the Hāthigum-
 phā inscription 11n; 33n; on
 Pushyamitra's defeat by Khāra-
 vela 144; on the *Brihat Samhitā*
 21n; on Pushyamitra's *coup* 23n;
 on Pushyamitra's sacrifices 37,
 37n; on Pañchāla rulers and
 Śuṅga Kings 49.
 Johnston, E. H.
 on Dattamitra and Demetrius 31n.
 Jolly 17n.
 Jyeshthamitra 40.
- Kaṇḍera-Keḍara 22, 264.
 Kaikeya, Kekaya 69.
 Kaiyāta 4, 5n.
 Kalhaṇa 8.
 Kālidāsa 34, 41, 42.
Kalpanāmaṇḍitika 23n.
 Kāmarūpa 68.
 Kamboja, Kambuja 64.
- Kane, P. V.
 on drinks by Brahmin ladies 193;
 on the period of the Dharma
 Śāstras 194.
 Kaṇishka 8n, 9.
 Kāṇvas-Kāṇvāyanas 46f; extent of
 their kingdom 47.
 Kānyakubja 75, 79.
Kāśikāvṛtti 7n, 12n.
 Kaśmīra 68.
 Kātyāyana — his date 2n; relations
 with Pāṇini 2n; *Vārttikas* of
 4, 10.
 Kauśāmbī. Rulers of — 48f.
 Keith, A. B.
 on Pāṇini 1n; on the date of
 Kātyāyana 24; on Bhartṛhari 6n;
 on the *Mahābhāṣya* and its study
 8n; on the date of Patañjali 10,
 10n; on Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgni-
 mītram* 34n; on the *Vājapeya* and
 Rājasuya-Yajñas 159.
 Kern, H.
 on Buddhism after Aśoka's death
 183.
 Khāravala 11n, 14, 22n, 33n, 59n,
 60; date of — 22n, 38f. supposed
 clash with Pushyamitra 37f.
 Kielhorn.
 on the role of Kātyāyana 4; on
 the *Mahābhāṣya* text 6n; omits
 Chandragupta-*sabhā* reference 12n.
 Kośala — rulers of 48f; as feuda-
 tories of the Śuṅgas 51.
 Kuṇḍas 56, 57.
 Kuru-Pañchāla 75, 75n.
 Kusumdhvaja — same as Pātali-
 putra 29, 29n.
- Lahiri, A. N. 21n.
 Lassen 9.
Lāṭyāyana Srauta-Sutra 158.
 Law, B. C. — 50n, 70n, 79n.
 Leibich
 on Patañjali 1n, 7n, 15.
 Levi, S.
 on Śobhikas 206.

- Literature—186f; Vedic Literature and the *Mahābhāshya* 186f; Patañjali and Smṛiti Literature 196f; the *Mahābhāshya*, the Epics and the *Purāṇas* 194f; Patañjali and the Kāvya Literature 197f; Patañjali and Popular Literature 202f; Patañjali and Drama 205f; Patañjali and Philosophical Data 207f; Medicinal and Surgical data in the *Mahābhāshya* 212f; Miscellaneous data of Patañjali's style 214; A review 215.
- Lohuizen-de-Léeuw
on old Saka era 56n.
- Lokāyatas or Materialists 184f.
- Lüders, H. 53n, 184.
- Macay, E. 99.
- Mādhavasena 34.
- Madhyadeśa-boundaries of 63, 63n.
- Mādhyamikas 11, 29.
- Mādras 72.
- Magadha 75f.
- Mahābhūtimitra 57.
- Mahādeva 57.
- Mahāsāṅghikas, reference to the School of—182.
- Mahimitra 57.
- Majumdar, N. G.
on terracotta heads from Buxar 241.
- Majumdar, R. C.
on Pushyamitra Śuṅga and the Śuṅga empire 21n, 41n; on the Yavana invasion 39n, 36n; on the horse sacrifice by Pushyamitra 37n.
- Makhali Ghosāla 178.
- Mālavikāgnimitram*—See Kālidāsa.
- Mankad, D. R.
on the Yavanas 11, 21n.
- Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 37n.
- Manu—on Madhyadeśa 63n.
- Marshall, J.
on Khāravela 39; on Śoḍasa 53n;
on the Sāñchī Stūpa 182; on the Yaksha cult 192; on Sāñchī Stūpa 223, 226f; on Bodh-Gaya 229; on Yaksha Statues 233.
- Mathurā, rulers of—52; as feudatories of the Śuṅgas 53, 53n.
- Matsyapurāṇa* 26n, 42.
- Maues 56.
- Mauriyas, reference to the—in the *Mahābhāshya* 13, 13n; Later—and the Śuṅgas 23.
- Maxmuller 6, 10.
- Megasthenes, 94, 152, 179.
- Menander—as general or viceroy of Demetrius 11n, 54; his advance 30, 31, 31n, 32, 36, 37; defeat of—41; coins of—53n; successors of—55.
- Mithradates 55.
- Mitradeva 44n, 48.
- Mitra, R. L.
on *Goṇikāputra* 18n.
- Momegha 27.
- Nagas, worship of the—181f.
- Nāgojibhaṭṭa, 19.
- Nandarāja, identification of—39.
- Narain, A. K.
on the Indo-Greeks 21n, 29n, 31, 32, 33, 36n.
- Nārāyana—a Kāṇva ruler 46, 47.
- Odraka 144.
- Oldenburg 165.
- Pañchāla-rulers of 47, 48f; identification with the Śuṅga-Kāṇva rulers 49; as feudatories of the Śuṅgas 49n.
- Pañchakāruki* 108.
- Pañchamahāyajñas* 167.
- Pāṇini—the date of 1n; relations with Kaiyaṭa and Patañjali 2n.
- Pargiter, J. F.
on the atrocities of the Yavanas 28n; on certain geographical identifications 76n, 78n.
- Parishadas 146, 147.

- Pāriyātra 63, 63n.
 Parivrājakas 178.
 Pāsupatas 177.
 Pātaliputra 19n, 21.
 Patañjali and his *Mahābhāṣya* 1f;
 importance of the work 2f; Patañ-
 jali and his predecessors 4f; time
 of—6f; references to contem-
 porary events by—7f; internal
 evidence and the time of—14f;
 identity of two or more Patañ-
 jalis 15f; Patañjali and the Yoga-
 sūtrakāra 16f; other Patañjalis
 17; Parentage and birth place of
 —18; Patañjali and the South 20.
Patañjalīcharita of Rāmabhadra
 3n, 17.
 —reference to Patañjali's birth
 and his task 34.
 Percy Brown
 on Orissan Cave-temples.
 Peterson
 on Patañjali 7, 7n, 8n, 10n.
Phaṇibhāṣya 1n.
 Plutarch 33.
 Poussain 7n, 22n.
 Prizyluski, J. 23n, 55; on Menan-
 der's empire 55.
 Pundra 76.
 Puri, B. N. 21n.
 Pushyāmītra— as contemporary of
 Patañjali 7, 10, 12, 14, 15. Brah-
 min origin of 22; *coup* of — 22f;
 Dynastic history of the Śuṅga
 family 25f; events associated with
 —28f; clash with the Yavanas
 31f; Vidarbha affair 34; second
 horse sacrifice 35; 35n, 36n, 37n;
 supposed clash with Khāravela
 37; Pushyāmītra's successors 41f;
 —*sabha* 10; — and the Buddhists
 54n, 155.
Rājatarāṅgiṇī 8n, 9.
 Rājuvula 53.
 Rāja Muriya 38.
Rājasūyayajña 156, 157, 158.
 Rāmadatta 53.
 Rāmagupta 28n.
 Rapson, E. J.
 on the Śuṅgas 21n, 25n, 25n, 61;
 on the Andhras 35n, on Brihas-
 patimītra 51; on Sindhu-Sauvira
 71.
 Rāpti 67.
 Rathaspā 67.
 Rāvi 67.
 Raychaudhuri, H. C.
 on the Śuṅgas 21n, 23; on Chan-
 dragupta Maurya 28; on parties
 and factions at the Mauryan
 Court 35n; on Khāravela 39; on
 Śuṅga-Paṇchāla identical names
 43; on the Sātavāhanas 46n, 47n;
 on the identity of Andhra —
 Sātavāhanas 58.
 Religious Conditions 155f; Revival
 of Vedic sacrifices 156—*Agnish-
 toma, Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Pāka-
 yajña* or *Pañchayajña* 156f; Yūpas
 159; Domestic sacrifices 160;
 Pañchamahāyajña 161; *Turāyaṇa*
 162; Soma drinking 162; minor
 sacrifices 163; priests, accessories
 and duration of sacrifices 164;
 Vedic gods—Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya,
 Rudra, Viṣṇu, Prajāpati, Marut,
 Mitra, Varuṇa, Soma, 168; Post-
 Vedic deities 169—Bhava, Sarva,
 Girīśa, Mahādeva, Skanda, Viśā-
 kha 169; female divinities—
 Lakṣmī, Suparṇī 170; temples of
 Rāma and Keśava 170; cult of
 Yakshas and Nāgas 171; Bhak-
 tism—Bhāgavata cult 171; Viṣṇu
 —Vāsudeva and Kṛishṇa 173;
 Inscriptions and Vaishnavism
 173f; Saivism 176; ascetic orders
 177f; Ajivikas 178, Māskarins 170,
 Daṇḍins 179; Parivrājakas 180;
 female ascetics 180; popular reli-
 gious beliefs 180f; Buddhism 182f;
 Jainism 183f; Lokāyatas or Mate-
 rialists 184; A review 184.

Rudradāman 56.

Rudradāsa 57.

Śailālins, professional schools of — 149.

Śāgala or Śākala 32, 41, 54, 71.

Śaivism — 176.

Śaka era old 66n.

Śaka-Kshtrapas of Mathurā 53f.

Śāketa 10, 11, 29.

Śālātūriya — an epithet of Pāṇini 18, 18n.

Sampadi 23.

Śaṅkarshaṇa 175, 176.

Sāñchi, monuments at — 222f.

Sāṅkiśa 75.

Sarvadarshanasaṅgraha 184.

Śāstri, H. P. 7n.

Sātakarṇi 35n, 59, 60.

Sātavāhana — same as Andhras 58; distinguished by some 58n, history of the — 59f; homeland of the — 59n.

Sātvatas 172.

Sauryabhāgavata 138.

Shadguruśishya 17.

Shah, H. A. 24

Śibi 72

Sircar, D. C.

on the present text 7n, 9n, 21n;

on the last Mauryan rulers 274.

Siri, Pulumāvi 59.

Sivananda 60.

Śivabhāgavata 176.

Śivaghosha 53.

Skanda 170.

Skandagupta 7.

Smith, V. A. 7n, 21n; on Kharavela 38; on Bodhi-Gaya 230; on the Mathurā Jain Stūpa 236.

Social Life 82f; Division of Society 82; castes 83f; mixed caste 83; foreigners and their assimilation in castes 84; family circle 84f; food 86; types of food-vegetarian 86f, non-vegetarian 89; fruits and

drinks 90; dinner etiquette 91; household effects 92; housing arrangements 93; dress and ornaments 95; ornaments 96f; hair arrangement 98; face decoration 100; marriage and position of women 100; pastime and recreations 102; social evils 105; A review 106.

Soḍāsa 53, 53n, 54.

Sten Konow

on Chandragupta Maurya 28n; on Dimita and Demetrius 33n; on Khāravela 39; 39n; on Pushyāmītra's rule in Malwa 41n; on the old Saka era 56n.

Strato I 55.

II 55.

Sujyeshtha — same as Vasujyeshtha.

Sukhthankar, V. S. —

on Andhra-Sātavāhana affinity 58n.

Śuṅgas — ancestry of the — 22f; the later Mauryas and the — 23; Brahmanical origin of the — 24f; Dynastic history of the — 25f; duration of their rule 27; Pushyāmītra 27f; date of his accession 28. the Yavana invasion — advance and retreat 28f; the *coup* at Pāṭaliputra 33; first horse sacrifice 34; the Vidarbha affair 34f; clash with the Yavanas and the second horse sacrifice 35f; the supposed invasion of king Khāravela 37f; Pushyāmītra's empire 41; Pushyāmītra's successors 41; Agnimitra 42f; Śuṅgas and the Pañchāla Mitra rulers 43, 43n; Vaṣumitra 44, 44n; Bhāgavata, Bhāgavadra 45; the end of the Śuṅgas 46.

Surāshtra or Saurāshtra 77.

Śutudrī 67.

Tarn W. M.

on Menander — Demetrius rela-

- tionship 11, 54; on the *Yuga Purāṇa* and the Yavanas 21n; on the conquests 30, 30n, 37n; on Menander's suzerainty over Mathurā 53n, on Euratides 55, 55n.
 Theravādins 182.
 Thomas F. W. 23.
 on Śrauta rituals 158.
 Trigarta 73.
Turāyana sacrifice 173.

 Udāka 45.
 Udumbarāvati 66.
Ugra, mixed caste 54.
 Ujjayini 80.
 Upādhyāya, B. S.
 on the river Sindhu 36n.
Upanishad-Bṛihadāraṇyaka 13, 135.
 Uśinara 72.
 Utkala 77.
 Uttamadatta 53.

 Vāhikadeśa 71, 72.
 Vāhlikas 71.
 Vaishṇavism 171f.
Vājaṭpeya Yajña 158f.
 Vajramitra 27.
Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa 23.
 Vaṅga 76.
 Vāsudeva 46.
 Vasujyeshṭha 25, 26n, 27, 42, 43n.
 Vasumitra 11, 25, 26n, 35n, 36, 43, 43n, 44.

 Vasusena 50.
 Vātsyāyana 18n.
Vāyu Purāṇa 8n.
 Vidarbha affair 34f.
 Videha 76.
 Vidisā 45.
 Vijayamitra 48.
Vishṇu Purāṇa 8n.
 Vishṇu-Vāsudeva 171f.
 Vogel J. Ph.
 on the Mathurā school of Art 229.
 Vrihaspati 23.
 Vrijji 76.

 Weber
 on Patañjali 6, 8, 13n, 19.
 Winternitz 7n.
 Woods, Y.
 on Patañjali 16, 16n.

 Yakshas — statues of 233f.
 Yajñasena 34, 35, 35n.
 Yaudheyas 56f.
 Yavanas — their advance and retreat 15f, 29f; defeat of the — 35f. — in the Kāli Age 28; — in literature 62n.
 Yogasūtrakāra 15f.
 Yomegha 26n.
Yuga Purāṇa of the *Gārgi Samhitā* 11, 19, 29.
Yuktidīpikā 17, 18n.

 Zimmer, H. 69n.

